Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

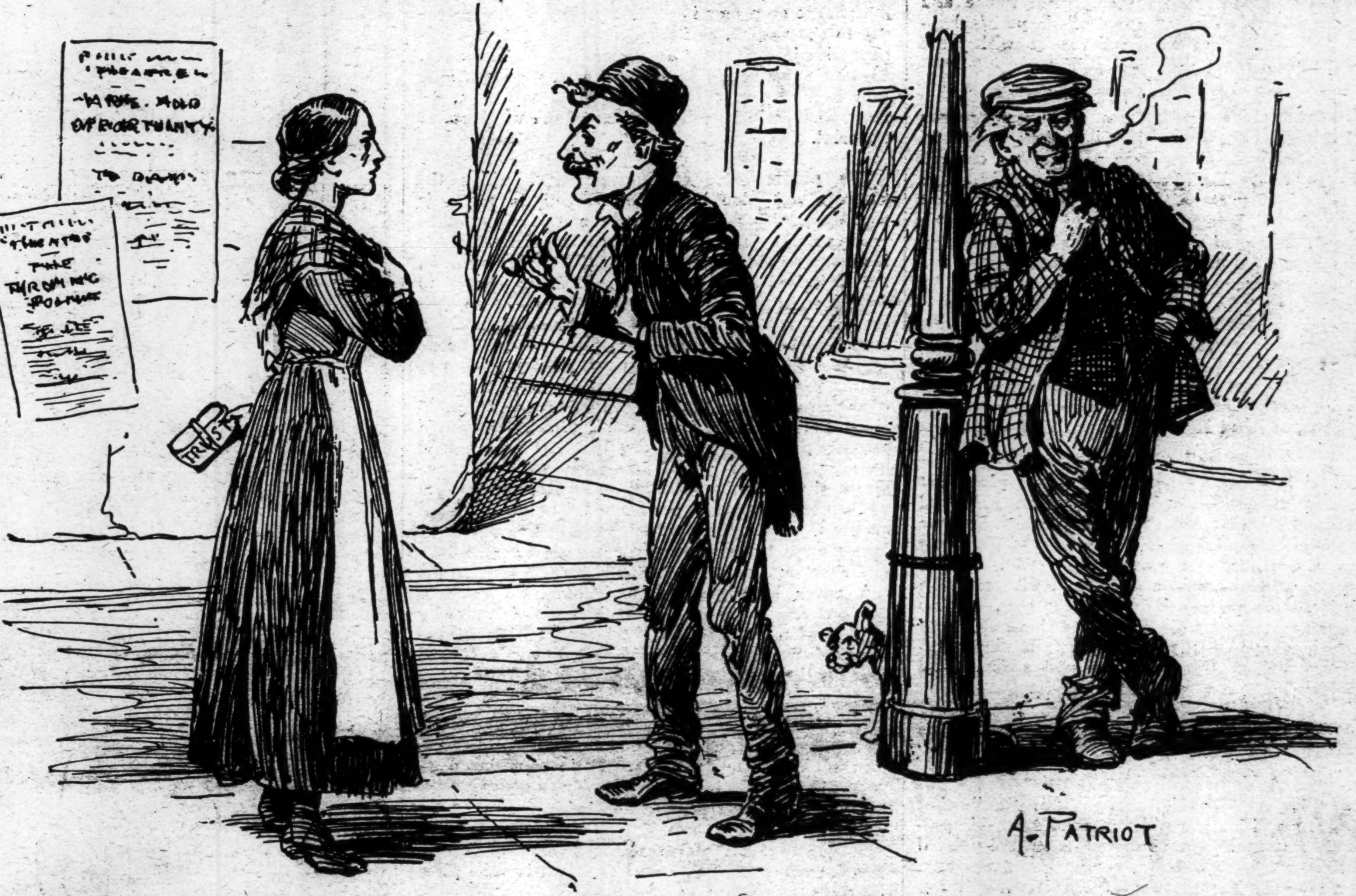
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
NOV 19 1912
PERIODICAL DIVISION

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 242. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1912. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

THE CONFIDENCE TRICK



Mr. J. RAMSAY MacDONALD: "Can't you trust me to see that he plays fair?"
WOMAN: "Certainly not! I know you pretend to be independent, but you both really belong to the same gang."

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Our Cartoon	49
The Outlook	50
About Ourselves	50
Herbert's Foot. By G. Colmore	51
Miss Helen Craggs: Nine Months' Hard Labour	52
The Broken Windows: Damages Claimed	53
Sermon to Mothers	54
Memoirs of a Woman Writer	55
Our Policy. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	56
"Put Not Your Trust in Politicians." Speech by Mr. Lansbury	57
At the Royal Albert Hall	58
Mr. Lawrence's Liability	58
Questions in the House	58
The Labour Party and Woman Suffrage	59
The Llanystumdwy Outrage	60
The Campaign at Holmwood	60
Militant Methods in America	60
Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans	60
Women's Part in the War	61
An Australian Petition	61
Coming Events	61
Our Post Box	62
East End Notes	62

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

As we go to press we learn that Miss Gladys Evans, recently released from Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, at the point of death, has been re-arrested for failing to report herself to the police. Such a diabolical refinement of cruelty it would be impossible to surpass. Its only effect will be to rouse women to more vigorous and determined protest.

The W.S.P.U. and the Labour Party

The decision of the W.S.P.U. to fight the Labour Party and to treat its leaders on the same footing as the leaders of the Liberal Party, is the natural and necessary outcome of the Labour scuttle on the question of Woman Suffrage. When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was asked at the Albert Hall Suffrage meeting last spring whether he was prepared to turn out the Government on the question of Votes for Women, he gave an emphatic "Yes" as his reply. The meeting hurrahed, but those of us who knew our Ramsay MacDonald waited to see how he would keep his promise. Our suspicion has unfortunately proved only too well grounded. In spite of the Government's hostility to Woman Suffrage, the Labour Party continues to give the Government whole-hearted support, and even refuses to pledge itself as a party to vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill if women are excluded.

The Ridiculous Mouse

What they do promise is so ridiculously minute that it recalls the well-known fable of the mountains giving birth to the mouse. We are told that a Conference of the National Executive of the Labour Party and of the Parliamentary Labour Party met at the House of Commons to consider the suggestion that the Party should vote constantly and relentlessly against the Government on all questions for the failure to include women in their Franchise and Registration Bill:—

> The Conference was of the opinion that the policy urged in the resolutions was not in harmony with the decisions of the annual conferences of the party, and, whilst recognising that the procedure rules of the House often prevent votes being given solely on the merits of the issue to be decided, it determined to press for the inclusion of women in the Franchise and Registration Bill.

To *press* for the inclusion of women! We should have thought that the veriest tyro in political matters realised that there was no pressure in Parliament except votes, and that where these are pledged to be friendly in advance all the pressure of argument is absolutely valueless

Mr. MacDonald on His Pledge

By the courtesy of Mr. Matzen we are able to reproduce (on page 59) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's own interpretation of his pledge. He says:—

> My statement at the Albert Hall was specific, and will be acted upon. It was that we shall support women's suffrage even if by our support of that we shall turn out the Government. That such a statement should be twisted by one-ideaed people into something quite different is a matter for them to reconcile either with their intelligence or their honesty, not for me to pay the least regard to. If we fail in our efforts it will not be through lack of energy on our part, but because of the criminal stupidity of those who profess to be supporting it.

This explanation shows that Mr. MacDonald is fast qualifying for a seat in a Liberal Cabinet, for it exhibits his power of giving an emphatic answer eliciting rounds of applause which can be interpreted so as to mean nothing at all. For how can your support ever eventuate in turning out a Government if it never expresses itself in adverse votes! As to his letter to the Women's Labour League, it is so wholly humorous that it must be read in full; it will be found reproduced on page 59 of this issue. As an apologist for a policy of inaction Mr. MacDonald is ingenious, but as Mr. Chadband holding up hands of horror at the impious treachery of the militants to the widow and the orphan he is unsurpassable!

A Real Friend

In striking contrast to the shuffling attitude of the leader of the Labour Party is the manly and straightforward attitude of Mr. George Lansbury, who has consistently and actively supported the women's cause, and who has been openly advocating the adoption by the Labour Party of the anti-Government policy in Parliament on this question. His great speech, which evoked tremendous applause at the Albert Hall last week, is reproduced in full in the columns of this paper. It should serve to open the eyes of all who are still in any way doubtful as to the merits of this policy. But over and above this it will inform our readers that Mr. George Lansbury is not content with mere words, but that it is his intention to put his principles into actual practice at whatever cost to himself. It is not long since Mr. Lansbury, by his spirited protest on the floor of the House of Commons, won the respect of friend and foe alike; by this further proof of his political insight and courageous independence he will prove himself to be a real political leader.

The Editors to be "Sold Up"

The fight which the Editors of this paper are making against the Government in resisting payment of the costs of the Conspiracy prosecution, ordered to be paid by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, has now reached a further stage. It will be remembered that the bailiffs have been in possession of Mr. Lawrence's house at Holmwood since the middle of August, and as the money has not been forthcoming, the Government are now contemplating an immediate sale. An inventory of all the available goods in the house and the garden has been taken by the authorities, and the sale will take place on Thursday in next week, October 31, commencing at one o'clock. All friends wishing to be present who contemplate taking any part in the proceedings should communicate with Mrs. Pott, of Road House, Woking Village, Surrey.

The Trial of Miss Craggs

The trial of Miss Helen Craggs took place last Saturday at the Oxford Assizes. The principal count in the indictment was that in which she was charged with attempting to enter the dwelling-house of Mr. Lewis Harcourt with intent to set it on fire. The prosecution brought a number of witnesses who testified to the principal facts of the case, and no attempt was made by the defence to shake seriously their evidence; in fact, the main details were practically admitted. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and after a speech from Miss Craggs, in which she pointed out the political nature of her action, the judge gave her the severe sentence of nine months' imprisonment with hard labour.

A Woman of Noble Character

By this trial and sentence, "justice"—that artificial and inhuman piece of mechanism—is presumably satisfied. But what of the general public? Are they satisfied also? We cannot think that anyone who reads the account of the trial, still less anyone who was present in court or who has the privilege of knowing Miss Craggs personally, can feel there is any real satisfaction or finality in the position. Here is a woman of exceptionally noble character, with a clear judgment of right and wrong, and a calm, intellectual mind, deliberately performing an act which, under all ordinary circumstances, would have been unthinkable. Probably no one present in court, not judge nor jury nor the general public, were more fully conscious of the character of this act than Miss Helen Craggs herself. She is not the woman lightly to attempt to set fire to a private house, with the definite risk (in spite of the precautions which it was made clear Miss Craggs intended to take by giving the alarm) of injury to life of the occupants. Yet she took this step with her eyes open and in full possession of her faculties.

The Explanation

The public have a right to ask for the explanation and to receive an answer. There is evidently something wrong somewhere, something utterly and hideously wrong which has impelled women to do things from which, under all ordinary circumstances, they would recoil in horror. It is no good criticising the women. The root of the trouble lies in the dishonourable and tortuous behaviour of the Government. All down the pages of history will be found the account of how repression and coercion on the part of the rulers, especially when they have been combined with cunning and fraud, have provoked such acts; and the present state of affairs is only following the terrible precedent of former years. The public have an obvious duty to perform; whatever they may hope to gain from their vindication of law-court justice—and the women are prepared to face all that—their real business is to compel their Government to do justice by giving the women of the country the voice for which they are asking in the nation's affairs.

The Case of Mrs. Leigh

At the Dublin City Commission on Tuesday last the announcement was made that the Government have no intention of withdrawing the charge preferred against Mrs. Mary Leigh of wounding Mr. Redmond with a hatchet, but that the case is again postponed—till December. As the matter is therefore still sub judice, we are unable to comment upon the facts, but we regard the attitude taken up by the prosecution as altogether improper. The case ought to have been heard in August, shortly after it occurred, and this would undoubtedly have taken place if the persons concerned had not been Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond. If the charge is ultimately to be withdrawn, or if Mrs. Leigh is found innocent, then it is unfair that this charge should hang over her head for five months. If she be found guilty, then the two sentences ought to have been made concurrent.

The Assaults on Women at Llanystumdwy

We are glad to learn from Mr. McKenna's statement in the House that in response to pressure the police have managed to identify some of the assailants at Llanystumdwy. Our experience of the past, however, has not predisposed us to feel confident that even now impartial justice will be meted out to the women, and we shall watch the proceedings with jealous eyes. In view of the fact that Mr. Lloyd George stated in the House a few days ago, that he had seen the whole of the occurrences, we presume he will be called as one of the witnesses at the trial.

The White Slave Traffic

The public sense of responsibility, which the Suffrage agitation has done so much to rouse, is rapidly growing with regard to this abominable traffic; and this week, an International Conference is sitting on the subject in Brussels. Over here, too, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill continues to arouse controversy among advocates, real and pretended, of reform. We emphasise afresh the futility, even in some cases the danger, of attempting to cope with a world-wide evil of this sort without giving to women the political weapon by which alone they can effectually fight against it. Some of the recommendations of the Conference—that all foreign women in London proved to be leading immoral lives should be repatriated, for instance—serve but to demonstrate that drastic remedial measures, undertaken while women are still unrecognised as the political equals of men, have a strong tendency to press unjustly upon the victims while the slaver goes free, and show over again that this blot upon civilisation can never be wiped out until women's value is acknowledged to be as high in the scale of humanity as that of men. To fight hard for the enfranchisement of women is to start on the straight road towards the abolition of the White Slave Trade.

Items of Interest

A strongly-worded petition has been sent to Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., by the Women's Political Association of Victoria, Australia. It is reproduced on page 61.

We reproduce on page 53 an abridged copy of the writ served on Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence by ninety-three firms whose windows were broken in March last. The trial is not expected to take place for some months.

ABOUT OURSELVES

Our readers will be interested to know that during the past week VOTES FOR WOMEN has found new quarters. On Saturday last premises were taken for the paper by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, and the same afternoon all the departments of the paper—editorial, advertisement, and publishing—were transferred there.

Though there is still much to be done at the new premises before they are in full working order, and therefore we cannot yet invite our readers to a friendly visit of inspection, we shall be glad to see them on any matter of business, and all letters should from henceforth be sent to that address. We particularly wish to call attention to the fact that there are in London several Red Lion Courts, and not less than two in the E.C. district; it is therefore important that the words Fleet Street should be added.

As a newspaper independent of all organisations, we feel that there is a special place for VOTES FOR WOMEN in the Suffrage Movement, and we believe that all those who have supported it in the past, when it belonged to the W.S.P.U., will continue actively to interest themselves on its behalf in the future.

How Readers Can Help

In particular we know that we can count upon the friendly assistance of paper-sellers in the streets, by whose devotion and courage the paper has been brought to its present position of importance. In view of the fact that the Woman's Press has decided not to take part in the distribution in future, we ask all those who are prepared to help in this way, and who do not get their papers through the channel of ordinary newsagents, to put themselves into direct touch with ourselves, or the publisher, at the new offices, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Dickins & Jones

NEW
FASHIONS
BOOK
Can be had
Post Free on
Request.

One-piece Robe, ready-to-wear, in Coating Serge. Shoulders of Black Satin, trimmed Buttons and finished with Belt, Navy or Black.

58/6

DICKINS & JONES Regent Street, London, W.

RELIABLE.

We have always in stock a wonderful variety of fashionable Fur Coats, of which the garment illustrated is a typical example. All these Coats are our own exclusive designs. They are made on the premises by our own highly skilled furriers from skins that we can recommend with the utmost confidence. The workmanship and shapes are invariably excellent.

Fur-lined Coat suitable for Travelling or Motoring, light in weight, lined Squirrel Look, with dyed blue Opossum Collar in Diagonal Blanket Tweed.

5½ Gns.

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore St. (Cavendish Sq.), London, W.
Famous for over a Century for Taste, for Quality, for Value.

HERBERT'S FOOT

By G. Colmore, author of "Suffragette Sally"

She had been very well brought up. She had pleasant manners and gentle ways; she spoke French quite prettily, read German, and when at school had taken a prize for mathematics. She could use her fingers, too, and trim a hat or make a blouse as well as her mother's maid. Her aunt said that she was free from the follies of the day, her mother that she was domesticated, her father that she was feminine. And when she was twenty-one, she married Herbert. Herbert had been well brought up, too. His character was praiseworthy, his business reputation was unblemished, and his views were orthodox. He had known Alice most of her life, and when he said that his early affection for her had ripened into love, he was quite unconscious that anybody had ever said the same thing in the same words before.

Alice and Herbert lived happily together; they had two children, a boy and a girl; and all went smoothly for fifteen years. Alice read the paper every day, and during dinner discussed with her husband the affairs of the nation; that is to say that Herbert propounded his views and Alice listened to and inwardly digested them. The papers from which Herbert drew wisdom and knowledge were the *Times* and the *Pink 'Un*. Alice read the *Times*, and occasionally glanced at the *Pink 'Un;* she also read Votes for Women. It was a paper Herbert refused to have in the house; but Alice belonged to a Club and read it there. After she had been reading it for some time, she began to speak at the dinner table as well as to listen, and the views she expressed were such as to cause Herbert to put his foot down. He said that a man need never fear domestic difficulties if he knew the right moment at which to put his foot down. He forgot that there are certain things on which it is rather awkward to put a foot—eggs, for instance.

Now there had been going on within Alice something of the process which goes on in an egg when sat on by a hen. The egg, indeed, had been laid at her birth in the form of individuality, only it had never been hatched; but now a hen, bearing the form of a weekly paper, had taken to sitting on it, and month by month the egg became more and more of a chicken; to what extent Alice herself was not aware, because the shell was unbroken. But one day, Herbert, putting his foot down, put it on Alice's egg, and crack went the shell and out came the chicken. And then Herbert turned into a cock—a turkey-cock, and went with claw and beak for the movement which was represented by the hen; and Alice turned into a hen, and defended the newly-hatched chicken; and all sorts of metamorphoses went on in the house in which Herbert declared himself to be master. And then, when Herbert felt that he had established his authority and Alice felt that he hadn't, came a fateful day. Alice had been very quiet for some weeks, and Herbert, who had never studied the ways of women or burglars, and supposed that as long as he did not hear a noise, nobody was breaking into or out of anything, plumed himself upon his masterly tactics. It was his practice to dress early for dinner and to spend half an hour before that meal in his den, in the study of politics; and on the day when Alice's chicken was full-fledged, he was, as usual, battening his brains on the *Times*, when the gong sounded. He battened on, expecting that the door would open and that Alice would come in to fetch him; but the door did not open and Alice did not appear; and at last stomach put its foot down on brain, and he threw aside the paper and betook himself to the dining-room. The dining-room was empty.

"Your mistress not down, Jane?"

Jane came in from the hall. "No, Sir."

"Go up and tell her that dinner—that I am waiting."

Jane departed and Herbert fumed. The soup would be cold. It was very inconsiderate—when she had plenty of time . . .

Jane returned, flurried. The mistress was not in her room.

Not in her room? By—by George . . . Perhaps the drawing-room? No, the drawing-room was empty. Jane was a fool; Alice *must* be upstairs. Herbert, flushed and bewildered, hurried up to see. She might—his heart-beats quickened—she might have fainted and be lying helpless on the floor. Poor—well, poor dear, it might not be her fault, after all, that the soup was cold. But floors, chairs, bed, sofa, all were empty of Alice. It was Jane in the end who discovered the only clue to her mistress's whereabouts. Herbert had returned to the dining-room, and was looking wistfully out of the window. She couldn't have gone out——? But she could, and had. Jane entered with a note she had found on her master's dressing-table. Herbert seized it, read it, and broke into a storm of inarticulate swears. Jane, terrified, but thrilled, ventured to enquire if anything was the matter.

"Matter? Everything's the matter. Take away the soup. I want no dinner."

"But, sir—the mistress—is anything wrong with her?"

"Your mistress, Jane, has gone to perdition."

He threw out his hands in despair. Jane, in sympathy, threw hers out also—forgetful that she held the soup tureen. But Herbert was in no mood to notice falling soup or broken china; he stamped up and down the room and vowed by all his gods that he would—that he would—— But what was the good of putting his foot down? Where should he put it?—when he was left in the house alone, and Alice was in Parliament Square? His heart was broken, that was the one thing he was sure of; and then the gnawing pain in the shattered organ began to extend—downwards. After all, he must keep up his strength.

"Give me," he said, "just a spoonful or two of soup. I must eat something before I can decide what to do."

"I'm afraid, sir," said Jane, "that I—that it's soaking in."

"Soaking——?"

He looked at the kneeling Jane, and his soul found relief. "Damn women!" said he, and added, "Bring me a—a sandwich!"

"If you please, sir," answered Jane, "there's broiled steak to follow."

He had the broiled steak, and told himself that he had taken too much mustard with it, which was the reason why his eyes watered; and then, after a few mouthfuls of port, he set out for Parliament Square!

* * * * * * * * *

It was a tremendous crowd; of roughs, policemen, and women; swaying, struggling, shouting. Herbert had never been in Parliament Square when women had requested to see the Prime Minister, and he was quite surprised when he saw them knocked about and their hats torn off and their hair pulled down, for he had always been told that these things didn't really happen. When he had seen two or three women thrown on the pavement and hit in the face and kicked on any part of the body that came handy, he quite forgot that he had come out to find Alice in order to put his foot down, in the desire that came over him to raise it up. He was bewildered, too, for he genuinely believed in the protection of women and the chivalry of men. But Alice must be found. Suppose she were to be dragged along like that woman with the bleeding face——! Suppose—— Is that her? It's the colour of the hat she might have worn. No, thank God! no; thank God, it isn't Alice! But it's a woman, somebody else's wife, perhaps. "Leave go of her! Leave go, I tell you!" cried Herbert.

"Get out of the way!" said the constable, "or we'll take you, too, for obstruction." And the crowd jeered and yelled.

He sought her at last at Cannon Row. She had been there, but had been bailed out before he arrived; it was not known where she had gone.

His boy was at school; his girl was with her aunt; he had sometimes been away without Alice, but Alice had never been away without him; the house he went back to was very empty.

* * * * * * * * *

He saw her in Court the next morning; she had a cut on her forehead and her face was very pale. He tried to catch her eye, but she did not look his way. When it came to her turn, he thought his heart would burst his waistcoat. The magistrate had been rough—too rough, he thought—with the other prisoners; it would be different with Alice. The others—well, they might be hussies, though he was obliged to own they didn't all look it; but Alice was a lady, as gentle a woman as—— Good God! what a way to treat her! A woman, his wife, to give her the lie direct, to take a policeman's word against the word of the most truthful woman in the world!

"A week. Next case."

She had been hurt, she was humiliated, she was to go to prison; and in his heart was the knowledge that he might have spared her, if not the whole, at least a part of it. For in that note she had left, she had told him that if he had only let her follow the right as she saw and felt it, she would never have taken so large a step without consulting him; it was because he had given her so short a length of rope that she had been obliged to cut the rope altogether. His heart and his foot were in desperate conflict; for he must maintain his position; and yet—it was true, those things she had said; women *were* treated differently—he had seen for himself—and she was Alice—he had cared for her since she was a child, with an affection that had ripened . . .

* * * * * * * * *

He saw her for a moment outside, just before she got into the hideous vehicle. He wanted still to put his foot down, to tell her she had brought shame upon herself and upon him and upon their children; and instead, he found himself saying, in a most extraordinary voice: "Can you forgive me?"

What a smile she had! He had always loved her smile.

"In time, perhaps," she answered.

"How long will it take you?"

The policeman's hand was on her arm, but as she went she called back to him, the smile still on her face, and in her eyes the queer look, half laughter and half love, that had haunted him at the time of his ripening affection: "Just the length of my sentence."

THE URBITOR BURBERRY

The permanent characteristic of the British Climate is its changeability—settled contrariety—which calls for something out of the ordinary as protective covering.

THE URBITOR, under these conditions, is invaluable. No other overcoat or weatherproof offers so many advantages. Be the weather mild or chilly, an **URBITOR** is the coat to wear. In the former case, it is light and air-free; in the latter, its dense weaving prevents penetration by cold.

The weather may be wet or fine; an **URBITOR** is the best coat on each occasion. Its non-absorbent nature keeps out heavy rains in a wonderful way. There is no soakage, consequently no dragging weight of water to be carried.

THE URBITOR is made of pure wool coatings especially manufactured by Burberrys for producing the perfect weatherproof.

The choice of patterns is unlimited, ranging through all colours and shades.

There are very many designs of **THE URBITOR** coat itself—models for every purpose.

Urbitor Burberry.

Wri'e for the book of THE URBITOR. It is well worth while.

BURBERRYS Haymarket, S.W., LONDON; 8 & 10, Boulevard Malesherbes, PARIS. Basingstoke; and Appointed Agents in Provincial Towns.

MISS HELEN CRAGGS: NINE MONTHS' HARD LABOUR

". . . I have done with words, and I would have you look into my face and know that it is fearless."—

W. B. Yeats (The Shadowy Waters.)

F. Kehrhahn & Co., Bexley Heath.]

MISS HELEN CRAGGS

It was at Oxford Assizes on Saturday morning that one witnessed one more scene in the tragedy now being enacted by the so-called Liberal Government of this country, with the help of its minions the administrators of the law. On the bench was an elderly Justice of the High Court, who had driven there with a most unusual additional escort of mounted police, and who had walked through the precincts guarded by a double row of constables. He was greatly annoyed at having to sit there at all on a Saturday, and had on the previous day made an acid reference to it. It was all, he said, to oblige a gentleman named ——, "whom I don't even know by sight." Saturday's sitting, therefore, opened with humble apologies on the one side and a testy acceptance on the other. It was not an auspicious beginning.

In strange contrast with the ermined and black-robed representatives of the law were two little children in white, who, with their mother, sat near the judge and looked on with innocent, wondering eyes. The Court was crowded, chiefly with women.

All through Friday morning, when the Assizes opened, a succession of sordid stories had been revealed from the dock: An elderly man, described as "a constant source of trouble," said to have run through a fortune and to have been 121 times in and out of the workhouse, was charged with breaking ten guineas' worth of glass as a means of drawing attention to his grievances; two middle-aged men, one of whom pleaded "guilty under the influence of drink" (a plea which seemed to throw the Court into momentary perplexity), were charged with robbing a village postmistress; another, described as a good workman whose downfall was due to drink and bad company, was in trouble on account of a box of cigars, which, according to the charge, he " did feloniously steal, take and carry away." The last, the most sordid of all, was a story of a Sunday evening quarrel, resulting in the necessity for the removal at hospital of an old man's right eye. The Judge became human over the definition of "pacifying a woman" as "pushing her into a chair, kissing her, and telling her to get the supper." After the luncheon adjournment the Court was closed to women; men fought each other for admission; it was a case of "gross indecency" in which young boys were involved.

It was rumoured that the judge was giving heavy sentences in order to lead up to *the* case of the Assizes—that of Miss Helen Craggs. However that may be, there is grave cause for reflection in the fact that three months' hard labour was the punishment awarded in the case which resulted in the loss of an eye, and nine months' hard labour was the penalty for the theft of a box of cigars.

On Saturday morning, with all the customary formalities, the jury filed into the box and took the oath. They must have seen, one would think, how strangely different a prisoner they had to deal with now—the girl over there in the dock, smiling and exchanging a friendly word with the wardress, was so totally unlike Friday's sad procession of failures! Housebreaking, violent-tempered, self-indulgent men had given place to a pure-minded girl with so gentle and spiritual a face and so gallant and courageous a demeanour that even the stupidest person in the Court must have been struck with the contrast. That girl a criminal? Had she been found in possession of a whole kit of burglar's implements one must have disbelieved so outrageous a charge.

"Helen Craggs," the Clerk read solemnly, "you are charged for that you were found on the 13th day of July, 1912, at the Parish of Nuneham Courtney, by night, unlawfully armed with a dangerous and offensive instrument with intent to break and enter the dwelling-house of Lewis Harcourt and to commit a felony therein. And, further, that you were found at the same time and place having in your possession without lawful excuse nine picklocks, thirteen keys, and other implements of housebreaking."

"Not guilty," pleads the girl in firm, clear tones.

The prosecuting counsel for the Treasury states the case and calls his witnesses. He refers to the fact that the prisoner was found hidden in the creepers outside the north wing of Nuneham House with an outfit which he describes as "most extraordinary for ladies," and that without lawful excuse. This is the point he has to prove, and which the jury will have to determine. The greater part of the morning is taken up by the prosecution. The air is thick with details. How she was found; when; with what; exactly where? The prosecution has had a map of the grounds prepared by the county surveyor. A most unusual course for the Treasury to take, says counsel for the defence; it is the first he has heard of it. Among other things produced is a purple, white, and green flag, which, at his lordship's request, is held up so that he may see it better. "The colours of the Women's Political Union," constable explains.

One of the witnesses is a girl a little younger than the prisoner in the dock. She is the daughter of Mr. Harcourt's agent, and she gives her evidence remarkably well, in spite of the fact that she is deadly nervous.

There is a dramatic moment when it seems that the Court is to listen to the chanting of Dr. Ethel Smyth's "March of the Women" (a copy of which is among the "finds") by a gentleman in wig and gown. "It is a suffrage war song," says counsel for the defence, who does not press the matter either way. "Yes, and very militant," retorts the prosecution. A little ruffling of the atmosphere and the moment passes; the incident is closed.

There is frequent reference to a typewritten document found on Miss Craggs, to which both sides evidently attach great importance; and when it is read by the prosecuting counsel it is clear that an impression is made on the court. The political motive, as indicated in the document, is certainly beyond question.

The Deputy Chief Constable, questioned by defending counsel, admits that Miss Craggs is a lady of education, the daughter of Sir John Craggs, that she has been previously charged with window-breaking in London and acquitted; that she was concerned in a question on Woman Suffrage which was put to the Home Secretary on the occasion of a visit to Wales; that there are two societies carrying on an agitation for the Vote, and that the defendant belongs to the militant one; that he has read this typewritten document, and that he understands what is meant by the reference to a challenge thrown down by Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol—that unless there is some such popular demonstration in regard to Woman Suffrage as that which led to the burning of Nottingham Castle in the days of the Reform agitation he (Mr. Hobhouse) will not believe in women's demand for the Vote.

Much is made by the prosecution, as showing a criminal intent, of the entry in a pocket-book belonging to the prisoner of the telephone number of the Oxford Fire Station, with whom she evidently intended to communicate. But how obvious it is to those who know the women in this agitation that it is another instance of the care taken by them to minimise the risk of harm to those against whom they wage war.

The prosecution sums up. His evidence has been absolutely uncontradicted, he says, and not even cross-examined. The defendant was in possession of dangerous and offensive instruments with intent to break in and set on fire. He has satisfied the Court on every one of the required points. She even proposed, he exclaims in horror, to leave the flag produced as a flag is left over a conquered fortress! And, secondly, she was in possession of housebreaking implements without lawful excuse. He does not know what line of defence his learned friend will take, he is so very ingenious, and prosecuting counsel's anxious face becomes a shade more anxious.

The defending counsel makes a fine and moving appeal to the jury, and one feels the air clearing; the little worrying details vanish; one shining thought flashes out and holds the Court spellbound. Here is this girl actuated by the same pure motives that have actuated others in this agitation, and that fact alone removes the case as far as it can possibly be removed from the ordinary sordid cases of crime which have passed through the Court. Everybody must feel, he says, that whatever view they may take of the evidence, it is unimaginable that this girl could be a burglar by instinct or profession, or a person who would, if she followed her own instincts and desires, do harm to a single living creature. He warms to his subject; he makes a fine appeal for legislation, not prosecutions, as a solution of the situation, with which there is not a man living who is able to cope, Parliament has no time. . . .

The Judge suddenly interrupts, drily. The spell is broken; the Court titters. One knows now that not only will there be no acquittal, but that the jury will not even seize the opportunity of ranking side by side with the jury at the Old Bailey last May, by adding a rider testifying to the purity of the defendant's motives.

"We find the prisoner guilty," says the foreman, after a few minutes' deliberation. The prisoner herself makes a brief speech, in which she once more makes perfectly clear the political character of her action. The judge sentences her to nine months' hard labour, and refuses the request of counsel that she shall be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.

One left the Court with vivid and crowding impressions, among which three stand out. One is the face of a witness for the prosecution, who appeared both puzzled and frightened, yet strangely fascinated, for her eyes turned continually to the girl in the dock. One wondered when she, like the prisoner, would wake up to the needs of other girls and women—the sweated women, the white slaves, the little child victims—wake so that she would feel that she must do something to stop these things, something, at any rate, to draw the attention of self-satisfied society to the existence in its midst of a terrible canker. And another is the face of the prisoner at the bar; the girl who has sacrificed her liberty, and is ready to give her life too, if need be, for those other women. And, above and beyond all, one has a mental vision of the stupid blundering "Liberal" Government that makes such a sacrifice necessary.

THE TRIAL

On Saturday, at Oxford Assizes, Miss Helen Craggs, daughter of Sir John Craggs, aged 23, surrendered to her bail, and was indicted before Mr. Justice Ridley with being found armed at night time with picklocks, keys, and other articles, with intent to break and enter Nuneham House, the residence of the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, and set fire to it. A second count charged her with unlawfully having in her possession without lawful excuse house-breaking implements.

Dr. Hazell prosecuted on behalf of the Treasury, and Mr. Cecil Walsh appeared for the prisoner.

In outlining the facts, Dr. Hazell said Miss Craggs had for some time taken an active interest in the movement in favour of Women Suffrage, and, judging from a flag that was found on her, she belonged to the Women's Social and Political Union. On July 10 the prisoner and another lady hired a canoe at Salter's, Oxford, and the former signed a receipt in the name of Helen Gredam, of 156, Charing Cross Road, London. They went to Abingdon, where they made inquiries as to seeing Nuneham House.

On the following day they hired another canoe at Abingdon, and shortly before eleven o'clock at night they left in it, going in the direction of Wallingford, the opposite way to Nuneham. They were next heard of at fifty minutes past midnight on July 13 in the private grounds of Nuneham House, where they were discovered standing hidden in the creepers on the north wall by the night constable, Police-constable Godden. He arrested Miss Craggs, but her companion escaped.

In a basket near where they had been standing there were found two cans containing paraffin and methylated spirit, a bottle containing turpentine, twelve firelighters wrapped in cotton-waste, four tapers, a box of matches, and nine skeleton keys. A satchel was also picked up in which were an electric torch, a glass-cutter, and other articles, together with a typewritten document. A hammer, the head of which was covered with wadding and encased in a kid glove, and a piece of American cloth covered with a sticky substance were also found in the park.

Witnesses for the Prosecution

Mr. Sidney Stallard, the County Surveyor, produced a plan which he had prepared of Nuneham House and the river. Mr. Arthur Henry Lawrie, clerk to Messrs. Salter Bros., Oxford, spoke to Miss Craggs coming to him on July 10, in company with another lady. They hired a canoe, and Miss Craggs gave him a receipt signed "Helen Gredam, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C." The canoe was brought back on the steamer on the morning of July 12.

Mrs. Stevens, wife of John Richard Stevens, boat builder, Abingdon Bridge, said that on the night of July 10 two ladies came to her and stayed the night. On the following day Miss Craggs asked her where they could spend the day, and she suggested to Miss Craggs either Sutton Courtney or Nuneham. She told her they could only land at Nuneham by going on the steamer.

Edgar James Stevens said he saw the two women on the Thursday journey on the steamer in the direction of Oxford. Just before 10 o'clock that night they hired a canoe, for which Miss Craggs paid him £1. He was told to make out the receipt in the name of Miss Smyth, but he was told he had spelt the name wrongly; it should be "Smith." Miss Craggs said they had some parcels on the lawn, but witness did not carry them to the canoe. The two women rowed off in the direction of Wallingford.

Miss Doris Gale, residing with her father, the agent to Mr. Harcourt, said when Miss Craggs asked her whether she and her friend could get into the house and see the pictures she said they could neither see the interior of the house nor the gardens.

P.C. Godden said that early in the morning on July 13 he saw two women standing hidden in the creepers by the north wing of Nuneham House. He said to Miss Craggs, "What are you doing here?" and she said, "We are looking round the house." He said, "It is not a very nice time at night to be looking round a gentleman's house." Miss Craggs said they were camping by the river, but as it was so hot they were unable to sleep. It was a very sultry night. He told them he had seen no encampment that night, and that, furthermore, nobody was allowed to encamp on that side of the river. When he asked them for their names Miss Craggs replied that she would say nothing to incriminate herself. He caught hold of Miss Craggs by the left wrist, and she struggled and attempted to get away. The other woman escaped. After handing over Miss Craggs to the porter at Nuneham House he went back to the spot and found a basket. In this he found two cans and a bottle containing liquids. There were twelve firelighters wrapped in cotton waste and nine pick-locks, as well as four tapers, a box of matches, and three brushes.

His Lordship: I thought they were merely hair-brushes, but they are of a different sort.

Mr. Cecil Walsh: They may be to clean the tins, my Lord.

The constable, continuing, said that in a small handbag he also found a two-foot rule, an electric "flasher," a glass-cutter, a silver box containing matches, a pocket-knife, chocolates, cigarettes, and a typewritten document, which he handed over to the Deputy-Chief Constable without reading it.

Statement Found on the Prisoner

Dr. Hazel read the typewritten document as follows:—

"Sir,—It is with a deep sense of my responsibility and with a sincere conviction that my action is justifiable that I have taken a serious step in the cause of women's enfranchisement.

"I profoundly regret that the forty long years of peaceful agitation and petitioning on the part of women is of no avail to secure for them their enfranchisement, and still more do I deplore that, though during the last six years the demand for political liberty for women has become the greatest agitation of the time, politicians were content to see its supporters violently treated and unjustly imprisoned rather than give them the long-delayed and much-needed measure of justice which they demanded.

"I myself have taken part in every peaceful method of propaganda and petition, and many wiser than I have done the same, but I have been driven to realise that it has been of no avail, so now I have accepted the challenge given by Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol, and I have done something drastic.

"When Cabinet Ministers tell us that violence is the only argument they understand, it becomes our duty to give them that argument. Therefore, I have done my duty.

"Women have a growing sense of proportion in this matter. They see around them the most appalling evils in the social order; they see children born into conditions which maim them physically and mentally for life; they see their fellow-women working in the sweated industries at a wage which makes their life a living death, or sacrificed as white slaves to a life which is worse than death.

"I feel that I dare not acquiesce in such a state of things, and that delay on my part would be criminal. I have, therefore, done what I have done with a full sense of my responsibility, knowing that the only way to right the terrible wrongs is to put into women's hands the weapon of the party vote.

"Men and women of the past have done violence and have suffered and died in order to put wrong things right and to win freedom for themselves and others. I am not ashamed; rather, I am proud that in my way I, too, have followed out this great tradition.

"Finally, it rests with the present Government to decide how much destruction, how great the violence to which women like myself will be reluctantly driven before our most just demand is granted.

"A Suffragette."

Cross-examined by Mr. Walsh

It was a dark night, but he saw Miss Craggs by the aid of his light.

Mr. Walsh: Did she talk to you nicely?—Witness: Yes.

Did she strike you as a lady of education and good behaviour?—Yes.

Have you ever caught a burglar?—Not red-handed.

You did not think you had caught one in the garden at Nuneham?—I did not know what to think.

Dr. Hazel: Although you have not caught a burglar red-handed, would you consider that, if you found a man at one o'clock in the morning with nine picklocks and the rest of this apparatus you had got someone who was intending to commit a burglary?—Witness: That is so.

Mr. Harry Gale, agent to Mr. Lewis Harcourt, spoke to finding a canoe below Nuneham House on the day in question.

Cross-examined: Prisoner had no spite against Mr. Harcourt as an individual to his knowledge. He had heard that as a member of the Cabinet Mr. Harcourt had taken a strong line against the women's movement.

George Higgins, garden labourer at Nuneham, said on July 17 he found the hammer with the head wrapped in a kid glove in the grounds.

Charles Woodley, gamekeeper, Clifton Hampden, spoke to finding an electric torch in the grounds.

Supt. Sorrell said that when charged at the police station prisoner said: "You can say all information, other than name, refused." He saw the canoe found by Mr. Gale, and he searched it, and he found in it a copy of "The March of the Women," a political war-song of the W.S.P.U., by Dr. Ethel Smyth. He also found a book containing two telephone numbers, A 26, Mr. Harcourt's telephone number, and Ox 22, the number of the Oxford Central Fire Station. When at the police station, prisoner said she would like bail, and added, "They always give bail in serious cases." When charged at the Bullingdon Sessions the day she was found, accused replied, "Guilty."

Cross-examined: The picklocks were apparently new. He had made inquiries about accused. She was the daughter of Sir John Craggs, and her parents had not approved of her share in that political movement. She had been engaged in the movement for some considerable time. She had been charged with one or two offences. One was window-breaking in London, and of that she was acquitted. She was also mixed up with some incident with the Home Secretary when the King visited Cardiff.

Mr. Walsh: You know there are two societies that carry on this agitation on behalf of women, one which adopts the militant methods, and the other more peaceful and constitutional methods?—Witness: I believe so.

You have read this document?—Yes.

I see there is a reference given to a challenge by Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol. On one occasion he said unless there was some popular demonstration, as in the old days, like the burning of Nottingham Castle, he would not believe there was any desire for the vote.—Witness said he believed that was so.

That is the reference here: "I have accepted the challenge given by Mr. Hobhouse." Apart from her share in this agitation you have no ground for believing that Miss Craggs is otherwise than a well-conducted woman?—I believe so.

This closed the evidence for the prosecution.

Mr. Walsh said he did not propose to call any evidence for the defence.

Dr. Hazel, addressing the jury, pointed out that the evidence for the prosecution was absolutely uncontradicted. He submitted there was no escape from the conclusion that those ladies went with those implements for the purpose of breaking and entering Nuneham house, and when there of setting it on fire. A crime was a crime in the English law, whether it was committed from a political motive or not. Whatever the cause a person was anxious to advance, they came within the four corners of the criminal law if they proposed to break it by housebreaking and by arson. His learned friend might tell them that all Miss Craggs wanted to do was to make a sensation, perhaps to get arrested, to call attention to the cause, but to do no real harm. If that were so, why the circumstances of that case, why the false names, why the burgling tools, the oils, the firelighters, the cotton waste, the telephone numbers, and the type-written document, referring expressly to a deed of violence, which the person who had written it was supposed to have committed. If she wished to call public attention to that cause, why did she go there at one o'clock in the morning, when the chance of doing damage was the greatest?

Speech for the Defence

Mr. Cecil Walsh, for the defence, submitted that the case was far removed from the ordinary sordid cases of crime where persons were charged with doing something for their own benefit. He was glad that it had been heard before the highest tribunal in the land competent to deal with it. He referred to the status of his client, to her excellent education, refinement, and bringing up; how she had always borne an honourable character, and was, in fact, a woman against whom there could be no possible suspicion of dishonour. It was altogether obvious that, rightly or wrongly, she was actuated by the wish to further the cause to which she was devoted, and that from the very highest and purest motives which could animate and inspire any human being. Whether, in this particular instance, the method adopted had brought her within the arm of the criminal law was another matter.

He wished to draw their attention to the seriousness of the situation. What was the charge? Did she go to these premises with felonious intent, the intent to attack or destroy property out of malice? As for fire, he suggested that in that very town of Oxford illustrations might be found in which undergraduates, in the excitement of the moment, had set fire to property. Nobody suggested that that constituted arson. He was not going to submit any illustration, he merely suggested the comparison.

The duty of an advocate was to do his best for his client, and from the very bottom of his heart he would do anything to spare this girl from the degradation and torture of association in prison with ordinary criminals. The point to which he invited their attention was this: He asked them to say that there was no felonious intent at all. All that was done was done in furtherance of a political object, and even if they were driven by their consciences to finding her guilty of criminal intent, he asked them to add to their verdict a rider which would be some satisfaction to him, and which he was, he thought, entitled to claim. For who were the prosecution? Really, they were the Government. And, standing there, one was bound to ask oneself this question, whether one could ignore what was plain every day of one's life,—that the agitation on this question (he was not going to discuss whether these views were right or wrong), as set out in the typewritten document, which he thought could not have put the case better, had been going on for forty long years; that years of agitation and petitioning had been of no avail; that the agitation had now undoubtedly reached a stage which one might describe as a crisis which required to be seriously dealt with by the Government.

"Gentlemen," he continued, "the Government are confronted by this problem: either they must go on prosecuting, as they are apparently determined to do, or they must legislate." Why did they prosecute? It was within the common knowledge of everyone that not many months ago three members of this society, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst were, at enormous expense to the country, and after a prolonged hearing at the Old Bailey, convicted and sent to prison for considerable terms. They were now free people. They were not many weeks in prison before they were released. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans were convicted in Dublin and sentenced to very considerable terms of penal servitude. Both these women were now free—released by the Home Secretary. What a farce this thing was! Everyone knew that these people had no intention of hurting anyone. They had never harmed a hair of a single living creature. Everyone knew that they were actuated by the highest possible motives, and that they were working for a cause which they believed to be essential to the well-being and safety of the nation. They were following precedents set in centuries gone by. The Government were prosecuting them, and as they had heard from the evidence, one of the Cabinet which was responsible for prosecuting in this matter, had actually challenged the women to show, by a reference to violence in the past, the reality of their agitation. Exasperated and baulked, their peaceful methods ignored by the House of Commons, these women had resorted to other methods. The Government was so full of business in Ulster, Wales, and elsewhere, that they had no time to attend to the women; they put them on one side.

This was the crisis to which the country had now come; and who was responsible? Sir Edward Carson, a member of his own profession, and one of the Law officers of the Crown, had been conducting a political campaign, preaching and urging violence to the Ulster men. He had challenged the Government to prosecute him; the Government did not prosecute either him or the cattle drivers, or those guilty of agrarian outrages. These men had votes! But women were prosecuted. Was it a serious prosecution? Not a bit. They prosecuted, juries and judges sent the women to prison, and after a few weeks they were liberated. Men were supposed to have the instincts of political judgment, while women were supposed to be without them. Men were responsible for this situation, and there was not a man living who understood how to deal with it. Everyone knew that these women who had gone to prison asked for political treatment, as political offenders, not common criminals. He asked them to say that this young lady was a political offender, not a criminal in the ordinary sense of the word. Everybody knew that the more these women were sent to prison the more they would refuse to recognise the law from which they were excluded, the constitution in which they were allowed to take no part, and would decline to feed themselves, with the result that the Government would be forced to keep them in prison until they were half mad or half dead, and then liberate them—and that was what was happening. He said such prosecutions were farcical, and he appealed to instances in the past which justified the observations he was making, and which justified the attitude which Miss Craggs took in this matter. How was it that the law of libel was amended and that Fox's Libel Act was passed in 1772, which left the question of guilty or not guilty to the jury and to the jury alone? It was because juries did violence to their consciences rather than see people convicted, and they found verdicts of not guilty when everybody knew they ought to be finding verdicts of guilty. Why was capital punishment for sheep stealing abolished by Act of Parliament? Because in the plainest possible cases juries declined to convict at all, as they knew that the man, if convicted, would be hanged. It occurred to him as a perfectly reasonable and proper means out of this impasse, brought about by the action of the Government, that juries should decline to be parties to this farce, knowing that the person so charged and sentenced would be liberated by the Home Secretary. They knew perfectly well that the thing was unmeaning. It was not prosecutions but legislation that was wanted. The Government, tied hand and foot by trying to force through the House of Commons by means of the "gag" measures of Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment——

His Lordship: Is this a speech to the constituencies? (Laughter.)

Mr. Walsh: No, my Lord.

His Lordship: What have the jury to do with all this?

Mr. Walsh replied that the hands of the Government were too full, and this was their own doing. They had brought matters to a crisis. The Government could not and would not legislate. They promised and promised without any intention of performing, and then went to the miserable resource of prosecuting these ladies, and asked the Court to treat them as burglars and criminals. Were the jury going to lend themselves to this? He asked the jury to say that Miss Craggs was animated by the highest possible and purest motives.

The Judge's Summing up

His lordship, in summing-up, said the prisoner's counsel had said nothing about the merits of the case. He had urged that it was not the ordinary object of gain or revenge, but that the motive was political. That did not make the slightest difference in the world; they had nothing to do with it. The law of this country would not allow people to commit crimes and to say they did so from political motives. He said that without fear of being challenged by anyone, and he hoped it would never be otherwise.

It was not possible for people to go about saying, "I cannot get the suffrage by legitimate means, and I will do it by crime." Certainly he had read stories in the papers of events in the Suffrage agitation such as Mr. Walsh had alluded to. He deplored the circumstances. His lordship then read from the typewritten document found with Miss Craggs, and concluded that the question was whether the charge had been made out to the jury's satisfaction; if it had they ought to convict.

After a few minutes' deliberation the jury returned a verdict of guilty.

Mr. Walsh asked that his client might be treated as a first-class misdemeanant, and quoted the case of Dr. Jameson as a precedent. This the judge declined to agree to.

With the permission of the judge Miss Craggs addressed the Court. She said:

I have to thank Mr. Cecil Walsh for expressing very clearly to the jurymen my views upon the matter. I will not dwell upon motives, as I understand that this Court has nothing to do either with motives or the moral aspect of the case. I would like to put only one point to you—I hold that Militant Suffragists stand in an analogous position to soldiers. You do not regard them as murderers because they fight in a good cause, and neither am I as a militant a criminal, because I fight in a good cause—as good as any soldiers have ever fought in. I say this, that morally I am guiltless, and more than that—for my share in this agitation, small though it is, I am proud to stand here to-day.

The Sentence

His lordship, in passing sentence, said he was very much distressed to find the accused in this position. He said that it was quite impossible for any agitation to succeed by the committal of crimes, and therefore the sooner that notion was abandoned the better. Miss Craggs was not a political offender. It was impossible so to regard her. It was fortunate for her that the constable stopped her when he did, for he thought she must have gone into penal servitude if she had set fire to anything in the house. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, she would be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for nine calendar months.

Later in the day Miss Craggs was sent to Holloway in charge of a wardress. Several Suffragettes, travelling back to London by the same train, were able to exchange a few words with her, both at Oxford and Paddington.

Several Suffragettes who were present at the trial sent the following telegram to Mr. Asquith and to Mr. Lewis Harcourt: "Nine months' hard labour Miss Craggs rouses relentless opposition."

THE BROKEN WINDOWS

Damages Claimed Against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

We print below an abridged copy of the writ on behalf of the West End Clothiers and ninety-two other firms, served on Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in July last, to which reference was made in these columns a fortnight ago.

Appearance has duly been entered, but it is not expected that the actual trial will take place for some months:—

Text of the Writ

In the High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division.

1912. W. No. 1774.

Between West End Clothiers Company, Limited; Cunard Steamship Company, Limited; J. Lyons and Company, Limited; Jay's, Limited; National Bank, Limited; Hermann Appenrodt; A. Davis and Company; Lockharts, Limited; Frederick Cleaver; Eugene Rimmel, Limited; Netherlands State Railways (a Corporate Body); Daily News, Limited; Joshua Turner; Stroud, Son, and Richards; D. H. Evans and Company, Limited; Waring and Gillow, Limited; Marshall and Snelgrove, Limited; Gerard, Limited; John Collard Vickery; International Sleeping-Car Company (a Corporate body); Edwards and Sons; Drew and Sons; Gaffin and Company; Victory and Company; Leon Edelshain (trading as The Jewellers' and Silversmiths' Association); Andre and Company; Augustus Bide; Redmayne and Company, Limited; Alfred Clark; B. Burnet and Company, Limited; Morny Freres, Limited; Burberrys (a firm); William Claringbould Williams; Fine Art Military and Sporting Gallery, Limited; Sewell and Crowther; Gladwell and Company; John Browning; S. Sainsbury (a firm); Edwin Marriott Hodgkins; Joseph Lang and Son, Limited; Bewlay and Company, Limited; Goodyers (a firm); John Allen; Phillips's, Limited; Joseph Greenwall and Company; Gophir Diamond Company, Limited; Frederick Charles Bayley; Shepheard and Company; Archibald Ramsden, Limited; Nederland Royal Mail Line (a Corporate body); Downs and Company; James A. Sinclair and Company, Limited; Hedges and Butler, Limited; Muhlenkamp Brothers, Limited; W. W. Rouch and Company; William Clowes and Sons, Limited; Partridge and Cooper, Limited; George Waugh and Company; Ross, Limited; Robson and Company; G. H. Elkan and Company; A. Barrett and Sons; Samuels, Limited; Hudson Brothers, Limited; Joseph Last; Palfrey and Bowen; Richard Stringer Starkie; Underwood and Farrant; Thomas Wing; Thomas Richard Cass; Cawthorn and Hutt; Hobson Brothers; Augener, Limited; Hunt and Roskell, Limited; Mabie Todd and Company; Samuel Henson; Charles Joseph Clements; Charles Bowman Vaughan; Swiss Federal Railways (a Corporate body); Sir John Bennett, Limited; McBirney and Mills; Isaac Edward Leapman (trading as I. Goss); Johnson and Company, Limited; Brown, Shipley and Company; John Barker and Company, Limited; McCombie Brothers, Limited; Saxone Shoe Company, Limited; G. Cozens and Company, Limited; Regal Corset Company; Weldons, Limited; Commercial Cable Company (a Corporate body); Lilley and Skinner, Limited; and Frederick Gorringe, Limited, Plaintiffs, and Emmeline Pankhurst (Widow), Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence (his Wife), and Christabel Pankhurst (Spinster), Defendants.

George the Fifth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, To Emmeline Pankhurst (Widow), Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, Emmeline Pethick Lawrence (his Wife), and Christabel Pankhurst (Spinster), all of 3 and 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, in the City of Westminster.

We command you that within eight days after the service of this Writ on you, inclusive of the day of such service, you do cause an appearance to be entered for you in an action at the suit of *(here follows repeated a list of the ninety-three firms)*—and take notice that in default of your so doing the Plaintiffs may proceed therein and judgment may be given in your absence.

Witness Richard Burdon Viscount Haldane of Cloan, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the fifth day of July in the year of Our Lord One thousand nine hundred and twelve.

N.B.—This Writ is to be served within twelve calendar months from the date thereof, or if renewed within six calendar months from the date of the last renewal, including the day of such date, and not afterwards.

The Defendants may appear hereto by entering appearances either personally or by Solicitor at the Central Office, Royal Courts of Justice, London.

The Plaintiffs' Claim is to recover the damages they have sustained by the wrongful acts of the Defendants in conspiring to break the windows of the Plaintiffs or to cause them to be broken, and in breaking them, and for an Injunction.

THE

New "Mercedes Corsets."

DESIGNED BY A WOMAN WHO KNOWS.
Made by Women and Sold by Women. ✠ ✠

As Sketch, in Satin Faced Cloth, with embroidered Silk Spot, 25/- These Corsets in their **Sole right of Perfection** in **Cut** and **Quality**, Challenge the World. Prove this to your advantage by **insisting** on being fitted with **Your Model**, for there is **A Model for You.**

"Mercedes Corsets" are sold by the most exclusive house in each district. All prices from 10/6 up to £5, in Coutille Batiste Broche Silk and the new Suede finished cloths.

M. BYRON,
(Wholesale only.)
11, 12, 13, Market Place, Oxford Circus, London, W.

Cosy-Comfort in Chilly Autumn.

The most sensible and comfortable novelty of many years is the

JAEGER

Pure Wool

MUFF-SCARF.

(Registered No. 575714.),

combining in one handy and convenient garment a Muff and a Scarf.

Nothing is more popular this year than these Jaeger Muff-Scarves, in various fashionable shades of "Fleecy-finish" Jaeger Knit.

There is hardly an outdoor occasion for which they are not suitable, and cosy comfortable.

Prices, **6/11** & **8/11**
Smaller size for children.
Prices, **3/11** & **4/11**

For Children the small Jaeger Muff-Scarf is splendid as a protection for throat, hands and lungs.

Sold at the Agencies with the Blue and Green Jaeger Sign.
London—126, Regent Street.

SERMONS TO MOTHERS

Dr. Saleeby has taken it upon himself to write a whole book on Woman and Womanhood.* As he hints repeatedly that it will not be palatable to advanced feminists, we are somewhat surprised to find that it is little more than an earnest plea for good motherhood, containing much that is excellent though little that is very new. We all desire girls to be healthy, to have a free choice of mate, to marry for love, and to bear children that will be loved and well cared for. All the conditions that he deplores, marriage without love, the risk of disease, unwilling motherhood, the double burden of child-bearing and industrial work, are the conditions of a man-governed world which Woman Suffrage will be the first step towards remedying. Does Dr. Saleeby, in his eloquent plea for the race and his regret that Suffragists do not put eugenics before the vote, not realise that the first thing women will do with their power will be to change the conditions that make life intolerable for so many of their sisters? And when he reproaches the "brilliant young lady" whose name has been so prominent in the fight for the vote because she resented the idea of new legislation for women whilst the Suffrage was withheld, does he pause for a moment to think how he would like the passing of laws affecting medical men—or eugenists—by a well-meaning Government which did not trouble to consult them?

We were not aware that prominent Suffragists discourage marriage and motherhood; it is because the Suffragists preach the same high ideals as are put forward in this book and will not take a second-best that they prefer the happiness of work to the unhappiness of a loveless marriage. If women do not now fly blindly to that estate, the reason can be found in the author's own words: "How many men would be willing to marry on the conditions with which marriage is offered to a woman . . . scarcely any men would marry, and men would very soon see to it that these conditions were utterly altered."

On the subject of motherhood, however, Dr. Saleeby has a real bee in his bonnet; it is a queen bee, and he shows her to us triumphantly as an example of supreme motherhood, breeding only, not working, and honoured for her destiny. But if we are to learn from the animal kingdom, we will produce the lady spider—she eats her husband. Would this not be a simple solution of the whole question?

Dr. Saleeby wants all girls educated for motherhood, their ideals restricted to this, their physical exertion carefully regulated, their natural inclination encouraged—and then, met with the fact that many of them will not be mothers, he finds a brilliant solution—they can be foster-mothers! He hints—though he never dares actually to say—that the work of unmarried women should be restricted to the two great "foster-mother" professions, nursing and teaching. All other work, presumably, is too intellectual, and would detract from the "factors" of motherliness.

We do not want it to be thought that we are in disagreement with Dr. Saleeby's fine plea for a perfect race. The truth is, we are a little tired of being preached at! Why was this book not called "Parents and Parenthood"? Almost everything applies to men as well; they should be taught from boyhood to be good fathers; over-exertion, physical and mental, are as injurious to them as to girls; and in order to develop in a boy the real love, pride, and tenderness towards his children that the author desires in a father, must we consider—when we get the vote—the desirability of restricting his occupations? No doubt many occupations undesirable for future fathers would occur to us if we set ourselves seriously to the problem!

We would say, with all respect, to Dr. Saleeby: "You leave woman alone; she will work out her own destiny once she has the power; and then she will see to it herself that there is good motherhood and fatherhood too."

Meantime, after a long series of books on Woman, we absolutely pine for one on Man: it must deal with the boy, the youth, the lover, the husband, and the father, and it must be written by a medical woman.

S. B.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Henrietta Maria." By Henrietta Haynes. (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

"The Elected Mother." By Marion Thompson Daviess. (London: Curtis Brown and Massie.)

"Five Years' Struggle for Freedom." By Margaret Wynne Nevinson. (London: Women's Freedom League. Price 2d.)

"Letters to a Prison." By Mrs. Fred Reynolds. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.)

"Kensington Rhymes." By Compton Mackenzie. (London: Martin Secker. Price 5s. net.)

"Perfect Health for Women and Children." By Elizabeth Sloan Chesser. (London: Methuen. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"The Mistress of Kingdoms." By Bridget Maclagan. (London: Duckworth and Co. Price 6s.)

"Adnam's Orchard." By Sarah Grand. (London: William Heinemann. Price 6s.)

"A Man's World." By Albert Edwards. (New York: Macmillan. Price 6s.)

"Aspects of the Irish Question." By Sidney Brooks. (Dublin: Maunsel and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

---

* "Woman and Womanhood." Heinemann. 10s. net.

Peter Robinson's of Regent Street

IN the Ladies' Underclothing Salons, at our REGENT STREET House, a special section is devoted to

Dainty Nightwear

—the assortments of Nightgowns and Pyjamas always afford a wide variety of charming designs to choose from, and the values offered in every instance are unsurpassable. Here are examples:—

NIGHTGOWN

R.S. 183. — Unshrinkable Twill Flannel Nightgown, collar and cuffs embroidered in silk dots	*12/9*
In "Viyella," hand embroidered	*22/6*

NIGHTGOWN

R.S. 44.—Cream Wincey Flannel Nightgown, trimmed torchon lace and insertion, square at neck	*6/11*
In "Viyella," trimmed torchon lace ...	*17/9*
In "Viyella," trimmed flannel embroidery	*16/9*

PYJAMAS

R.S. 1912.—Ladies' Pyjamas, in new and pretty style; in white with sky or pink borders; in 3 sizes.

In Zephyr	*7/9*
"Flawn" light-weight flannel ...	*12/6*
"Windsor" all-wool flannel	*16/9*
"Orient" silk and wool flannel	*19/6*
Heavy silk	*27/6*
Good Japanese silk ...	*21/6*

Orders by post receive special attention if you mention VOTES FOR WOMEN. *We pay carriage on all purchases to anywhere in the United Kingdom.*

Peter Robinson's of Regent Street

"Flako"
The Purest form of Soap
"Flako"
Regd
Soap in flakes
for fine fabrics
John Knight Ltd
Use "FLAKO" for Fine Woollens and Flannels, Lace, Silk and Feathers, and all Fine Fabrics.
IT IS INVALUABLE AS A SHAMPOO, REFRESHING AND INVIGORATING IN THE BATH.

To be obtained in 1d. and 3d. packets from all Stores, Grocers, or Oilmen.

Send 1d. stamp to Dept. 'V.' for Free Sample.

JOHN KNIGHT, LTD.,
Soapmakers by Appointment to H M. KING GEORGE V.
The Royal Primrose Soap Works, LONDON, E.

THE FRENCH HAT SHOP

322-324, REGENT ST., W.

"The FLORA." Large Picture Hat (*as sketched*) in Black Velvet, underlined White Millinery Cloth, effectively trimmed Crême Cluny Insertion & tiny Velvet Buttons. Also in Navy, Helio, Grey, Cuyr, and Tilleul.

The "OLIVE." A leading style, made in Millinery Cloth; bound Velvet and Crown entirely draped Velvet. In White, with Black, Navy, Helio, or Green Velvet; also in All-Black or Self Colours.

The "MABEL." Smart Toque, admirable for Ladies whose hair is plainly dressed. The Brim is of Sequined Net, The Crown draped Black or Cuyr (the new tan shade) Velvet, trimmed Satin Ribbon and smart Wing. Also in Navy, Helio, and Grey; Self Colour Trimming on Brim in place of Sequins.

All One Price (Hat and Veil) **7/6** Packing and Postage 10d.

Box and carriage on a single hat to any address in the United Kingdom, **10d.** When sending to foreign countries, India, or the Colonies, a waterproof wooden box large enough to carry two hats, is advised. The charge for same is **1/8** (weight of box alone, 5 lb.); postage from **2/-** (according to destination). **Please send for Illus. Catalogue, Post Free.**

DIMOLINE PIANO CO.
Special Sale of Pianos. Cheap. All Makers.

SILENCING STOP PIANOS
FROM **20 gns.** CASH.

PLAYER PIANOS.
SIMPLEX PLAYERS

Special Terms to Members W.S.P.U.

Manager: MRS. DIMOLINE JONES, 11, Parkhurst Road, HOLLOWAY (Private House)
Furniture, &c. Grace Jones.

MEMOIRS OF A WOMAN WRITER

Our only feeling of regret, on closing Miss Hill's delightful memoir of Fanny Burney,* is that it extends over a limited portion of the career of the author of "Evelina." As Fanny Burney wrote of herself to an intimate friend, on being offered her appointment at the Court of George III., "I have always and uniformly had a horror of a life of attendance and dependence"; and there is no doubt that the years she spent as Second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte, though full of interesting experiences, meant a real loss to the world of letters, and greatly hindered the development of a woman who, leading the humbler life of freedom, might have attained real greatness. Not one of the letters quoted in the book as being written after she went to Court contains anything half so good as this mock heroic account of her first interview with the King, before she left home :—

> My first thought was *to faint away*, as that was the thing that had always appeared to me the most delicate and interesting upon all tender occasions. But . . . notwithstanding I had resolved upon this plan, I could not put it in execution! Though the moment I stood before the King, I said to myself, "This is the time, now I'll swoon!" I could not do it! . . . So I changed my purpose, and took a private resolution to only burst into tears. . . . But at the very instant that I was preparing myself for being seized with as affecting a blubbering as ever you saw in your life, I was taken as if in downright opposition with an inclination to simper!

And so on, through a page of delicious nonsense, in a letter to a sister. Indeed, remembering her sense of humour, which was strong enough to enable her to poke good-humoured fun at her tormentor and superior at Court, Mrs. Schwellenberg, we feel sure that Miss Burney must have written the following passage in her Diary almost with her tongue in her cheek, so improbable does it seem that, even at the end of the eighteenth century, a young woman should have seriously thought she was ill-treated by a young man, whom she did not love, because he engaged himself to someone else :—

> So great, however, had been my incredulity, so unspeakable . . . was my astonishment, that I feel satisfied, if my *heart* had been engaged in this affair, if my affections had been touched beyond gratitude and esteem, the instantaneous effect of this sudden conviction would infallibly have been immediate death by an apoplectick stroke; and let me as I recount this most thankfully consider my almost wonderful preservation. . . . It is not him I have to thank that he has not broken my heart! It is Heaven alone I have to praise.

If this was really intended as a serious expression of feeling, Fanny Burney was a creature full of contradictions, for both her letters and her Diary reveal her as almost modern in her emancipation from the conventional view of friendship between men and women, and she counted Walpole, Burke, and many others among those with whom she had a strong intellectual affinity. Dr. Johnson, joining her name with those of Hannah More and Elizabeth Carter, said, "Three such women are not to be found"; an important admission from the man who, as Miss Hill reminds us, once declared that :—

> "A man is in general better pleased when he has a good dinner upon his table than when his wife talks Greek"; but added, "My old friend, Mrs. Carter, could make a pudding as well as translate Epictetus."

The book covers a good deal of interesting ground, from an historical as well as domestic point of view; and Fanny Burney's impressions of the attempt upon the King's life, of the trial of Warren Hastings, of the King's insanity, and the political intrigues of the Prince of Wales, make excellent reading, very largely because they are to be gleaned from her correspondence, and are therefore quite free from affectation. Of Margaret Nicholson's attempt to stab the King, she writes (proving incidentally that it is apparently safer to attack a King that to interrupt a Cabinet Minister!) :—

> Had he not been endowed with very singular presence of mind . . . he had certainly been *wounded* at least . . . and he had the instantaneous humanity, in the midst of his first surprise and horror, to rescue the assassin from the enraged people, and to call to them to spare her, for he was safe. . . . For one awful moment, what a scene of domestic misery—what a rush of public calamity was impending!

It is interesting to find that human nature does not alter much, and that an unpopular King in any age may become a hero merely because he smiles in the face of an attack upon his life! Miss Burney's account of the great State Trial in Westminster Hall will go home to every militant Suffragist who has seen her own leaders standing in the dock, falsely accused by the Government of their day. Her description of the contrast between Burke's furious speech for the prosecution and the innocent appearance of the accused, contains the following sly passage :—

> I think I never felt such indignation as when Burke, with Sheridan standing on one side and Fox on the other, said, "Vice incapacitates a man from all public duty; it withers the powers of his understanding, and makes the mind paralytic." I looked at his two neighbours, and saw that they were quite free from any symptom of palsy.

There are little gleams of humour all through Miss Hill's clever compilation. At one moment, we see Miss Burney taking the waters at Cheltenham, assuring a member of the Royal suite that :—

> I suppose I might be the better for the excursion, according to the definition . . . by Mr. Walpole, who says, people go to those places well, and then return cured!

At another, we find her making tea for the Royal equerries, or writing birthday verses to be presented by little Princess Amelia to her Royal father, and ending with the couplet :—

The little bearer begs a kiss
From dear Papa for bringing this.

Finally, we wonder, having finished this study of a character that is full of strange contrasts, suggesting now a conventional Court lady, now a wild bird struggling to be free, now a keen observer of contemporary politics—whether Fanny Burney, had she lived to-day, would have been a fighting Suffragist? We think on the whole she would, and her portrait in the frontispiece supports this belief. And this reminds us, by the way, that the book is beautifully illustrated with reproductions of contemporary portraits and with sketches by Ellen G. Hill.

---

* "Fanny Burney at the Court of Queen Charlotte." By Constance Hill. (John Lane. 16s. net.)

WILLIAM
OWEN

BEAUTIFUL FUR COATS

BERENICE.

Natural Grey Siberian Squirrel Coats as sketch
16 Guineas.

Also in finer quality dark natural skins.
20 Guineas.

WILLIAM OWEN, Ld.,
WESTBOURNE GROVE, LONDON.

Subscriptions and Orders for the Paper should be sent to **The Publisher**, *VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet-Street, E.C. The terms are, post free, 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 3s. 3d. for six months inside the United Kingdom, 8s. 8d. ($2.25c.) and 4s. 4d. ($1.15c.) abroad, payable in advance. The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.*

All Correspondence concerning Advertisements must be addressed to the **Advertisement Manager,** *VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

A SOCIAL CLUB
FOR
MEN AND WOMEN
interested in the Suffrage Movement
has now been formed, and
premises have been taken at
3, YORK STREET, ST. JAMES', S.W.
There are still vacancies for members at £1 1s. and no entrance fee.
Early application is advisable.
Letters only for the present.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.
THE CHANCE OF A LIFETIME!
COME TO THE
INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE FAIR
TO BE HELD AT THE
CHELSEA TOWN HALL, KING'S ROAD,
On Wednesday, Thursday, Friday & Saturday,
November 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th, 1912.
From 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. Doors open at 2.45.
TICKETS, 2s., 1s., and 6d.
To be had from the WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE, 1, Robert Street, W.C., and from the Branch Secretaries.

THE
WOMEN TAXPAYERS AGENCY
Recovers all Income-tax Overpaid since the 5th of April, 1909.
Secures Abatements and Exemptions.
Prepares Accounts for Super-tax and Income-tax.
Conducts Appeals before the Commissioners.
Advises on Investments with regard to Income-tax.
The Agency's Clients include the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Decima Moore, and many well-known Suffragists, Doctors, Actresses, etc.
Hampden House,
Kingsway, W.C. Tel. 6049 Central.

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
THACKERAY HOTEL
Great Russell Street, London.
This large and well-appointed TEMPERANCE HOTEL has Passenger Lift, Electric Light throughout, Bathrooms on every floor, Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading and Smoking Rooms. Fireproof Floors. Perfect Sanitation. Telephone. Night Porter.
Bedroom, Attendance, and Table d'Hote Breakfast, Single from 5s., 6s. to 8s. Table d'Hote Dinner, Six Courses, 3s.
Full Tariff and Testimonials on Application.
Telegraphic Address: "Thackeray London."

Telephone: 822 Chiswick.
THE LAVENDER LAUNDRY
Strafford Road Acton, W.
We solicit the Custom of all who believe in supporting Women's labour, and who appreciate having their Linen washed in honest, wholesome fashion without the aid of chemicals.
Excellent Testimonials.
'Phone or write for Price List.
Our own Vans collect and deliver daily in London.
Special Department for Country orders.

Learn to Write Advertisements
More Dixon Institute trained women needed in this well paid profession. Our course embraces all branches of advertising. Graduates helped to obtain posts or home work. Letters and references *prove* this. Lessons by correspondence. Why not train for advertising? Send now for free prospectus.
DIXON INSTITUTE
(Dept. 61),
195, Oxford Street, W.
And Earn
£5
A Week.

POWERFUL NEW NOVEL.
"THE PAIN OF THE WORLD."
Price 6s.
By Mrs. HUGO AMES
(FLORA HAYTER).
From all Libraries, or from
KEY PUBLISHING CO.,
26, IVY LANE, E.C.
"This gifted novelist has brought the experience of her wide and varied career and the strength of a passionate devoted nature to bear on her theme." . . . .
"Very much alive." . . . .
"It is undoubtedly a strong novel, and holds fearless criticism of various modern methods, and gives the reader a true glimpse of the Social and Political Worlds."—*Occult Review.*
"An Enthusiastic Book."—*Westminster Gazette.*
"There is in this book the passion of a true lover of humanity. There is the light of an apocalyptist's soul and the tender glow of an artist's imagination. It concerns the terrible sufferings of two women of widely different rank: An Extraordinary Work."—*Dublin Express.*
Read in this book **Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's** beautiful appeal to women and for women. Mrs. Hugo Ames has brought in this appeal in a stirring scene in "The Pain of the World."
"Through prison bars I have seen the fortitude and courage needed for our women to pass through, as they are passing now, Hell's Gateway."—Flora Ames.

VOTES FOR WOMEN
4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1912.

OUR POLICY

The struggle of women for their political liberty has now developed into a deadly hand to hand conflict with the Government in power. All the battalions of political opposition, intrigue, and betrayal are openly arrayed against us. A few months may see the reins and the whip by which the womanhood of the country is to be driven and coerced, placed in the hands of every irresponsible youth of twenty-one years of age. This shame and humiliation cannot be passively tolerated by women who have the blood of a free and proud race flowing in their veins. Only a craven horde of slaves could tamely submit to it.

Votes for Women sounds the alarm, and calls upon women to awake and realise the peril of the moment. We are no longer the mouthpiece of any Suffrage organisation. We stand outside all political parties, and outside all societies, but in close touch with the striving spirit of womanhood which is calling for release from age-old bondage and domination.

With criticism of vigorous and self-sacrificing action we have nothing whatever to do. That we leave to those who have no constructive ideals to offer, and no direct course of their own to pursue. Criticism of action is the pedlar's pack of the moral beggar—a mere excuse for indolence and irresolution. It is the cheapest way of justifying an easy existence.

Our criticism is directed upon the Government, which in their dealing with this great question of political justice and human liberty stand convicted of the betrayal of every principle of Liberalism and of every standard of public honour and righteous dealing. It is to them that the present condition of profound unrest amongst women is due. They have aroused in the hearts of all women worthy of the name relentless and undying revolt, by their dishonourable repudiation of principle, by their shameless and immoral intrigues, and by their callous and cruel methods of repression. Such action as they have taken during their present period of office, to say nothing of the treatment by politicians of the question of women's enfranchisement during the preceding forty years, would have driven men to bloodshed and revolution long ago. They challenged rebellion, and when they received the answer in its mildest and least provocative form, they cried out in the most cowardly and contemptible fashion, and they sent forth their agents of brute force to stamp it ruthlessly down.

Because they could not crush the spirit of women, they have maimed their bodies and have tortured them to the point of death. And now that they find their ignorance of human nature taken by surprise, now that they have failed to kill in women the soul of liberty that cannot die, they are prepared to work every engine of persecution against those who have defied their authority.

Whatever action may be taken by the brave women in the forefront of the battle, whatever tragedy may ensue as the issue of this struggle, we put the blame on the right shoulders. For whatever act of desperation may be done, the Government are responsible.

It is not by action, but by inaction, that the great mass of women, trained by centuries of quiescence, have failed at this crisis. Women! this is our sin. This is our shame.

It is because of our failure in action that we are a subject race to-day.

The sins of omission are more deadly than the sins of commission. Bondage to fear of any kind is worse than penal servitude. Is it because living ideals have been debased by the prating of politicians that the great majority of people to-day are lost to any sense of reality? Are they so seared to the contact of life that they can talk with smooth and pious hypocrisy of the crime of breaking glass and think nothing of the crime of breaking human beings? Better that every pane of glass in the country should be broken than that one hundred thousand babies should die every year, and that the sacrifice of a hundred thousand mothers should go for nothing; or that girls should be sold and exported like bales of merchandise; or that little children should be outraged; or that the womanhood of the race should be held in subjection and dishonour.

With what a world of reproach in their tone could the thousand women who have passed through the iron gates of prison turn to their sisters and say: "We have piped unto you and you have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and you have not wept." They—the martyrs of liberty—have been criticised, reviled, and deserted by the mass of those for whom they suffered. Therefore does this Manhood Suffrage Bill, with its menace of utter humiliation and complete political subjection, overshadow the women of this country to-day.

If, when the banner of revolt was lifted six years ago, women had loyally flocked to the standard the vote would have been won from a Liberal Government under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. But instead of action, there was hesitation, timidity, counsels of patience, and paralysis of will. The propitious moment was allowed to slip and the leadership of the Liberal Party passed into the hands of that obstinate Anti-Suffragist, Mr. Asquith.

Yet, even so, if hundreds of women had braved the task of putting questions at public meetings to Cabinet Ministers, if thousands had backed up the gallant little deputations who faced assault and arrest in Parliament Square, neither Mr. Asquith nor his Government would have ventured to meet the demand of women for the vote with rigorous repression.

It was "Black Friday" that made the policy of stone throwing the only method by which women could protest against the introduction of the Manhood Suffrage Bill without endangering both limbs and life. It was the unconscious, tacit desertion of the main body of the army that made the desperate fighting in the advance guard a dire necessity.

Last November, the introduction of the Manhood Suffrage Bill could have been resisted by the united body of Suffragists and the trickery of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George could have been brought to nought. To-day the task is harder, and calls for great courage and great sacrifice.

A vigorous rally of all the Suffrage forces is urgently needed. It is not necessary for us to preach militancy to the Women's Social and Political Union. The leaders and the rank and file of that magnificent fighting force are equally determined to press the issue to a triumphant finish.

But we do preach militancy—vigorous and sustained militancy—to all those women who have hitherto thought that the victory was to be won by constitutional methods alone. Surely they have awakened at last from their dream of conquest by trustful confidence. Even at the eleventh hour they can save the situation by determined action.

We call upon every single woman in the ranks of the Woman's Movement to come out and fight, to adopt the essence of the militant creed by ceasing to approach politicians as suppliants entreating favour, and by demanding as upstanding women an immediate Government measure of enfranchisement as their right. Let them give the Government clearly to understand that in default of the payment of this long overdue debt, they will assert and maintain their claim by active and persistent opposition and by methods that are unpleasant and harassing, and that they will not hesitate if necessary for the vindication of the fundamental principle of human liberty to use methods that are in open defiance of the law.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

"PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN POLITICIANS"

A Speech by Mr. George Lansbury at the Albert Hall, October 17, 1912

Mrs. Pankhurst and friends,—I wonder if you will let me say just first of all that coming to this magnificent meeting to-night and being received in this manner rather takes, I was going to say, all the sting and go out of me, because I have the feeling that if there are any people in this hall who are really not the right people to stand upon this platform, it is those who are members of the House of Commons. After all, we have made no sacrifices. We have none of us done anything that can approach in any kind of way the tremendous and the heroic sacrifices that have been made by Mrs. Pankhurst, the Lawrences, and all the other women. I always have the feeling that English public meetings are altogether too generous to people like myself. The most that any politician ever does is to talk, and that is about the easiest thing that a man can do.

Now, in coming here to-night I have very divided feelings indeed. It is always difficult and it is always very critical when people one reveres and respects all at once separate, and although they carry on their work in their own way, the bond of union appears for the time being to be severed. I have, I think, a kind of affectionate regard for Mr. Pethick Lawrence and his wife, and I have exactly the same feeling for Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, and you will not expect that in this matter of policy a man like me, who is more or less an outsider, should really take a definite side so far as the women themselves are concerned.

I Refuse to Advise a Truce

Numbers of people have written to me and practically told me that I ought not to come and speak at these meetings at all unless I advise the women, especially the militant women, to call a truce and not go on with their militancy. There is only one answer to them. It would be downright impudence and impertinence on my part to attempt in any kind of way to say what women under the present circumstances ought or ought not to do. I always remember when I get such letters that certainly the people who write them left the Suffrage movement severely alone, except for pious meetings once a year or so, until six years ago. And the whole question, say what people may, has been brought into the region of what is called practical politics, because six years ago women threw what is known as "respectable conduct" to the winds, came out, and fought for the vote in a militant kind of way.

To-day we are face to face with a condition of things in regard to Parliament which I think is almost unparalleled in the history of our country; and I want to say that so far as my own conduct is concerned, now that our Party has decided definitely in one direction—that is, that they are going to hold their hand and hold up their decision as to what ultimately they will do, until later on—I am in honour bound to consult the men and women who returned me to the House of Commons nearly two years ago. And when that has taken place I think I shall be in a position, if not to take my place with the people who are actually fighting, at least to be free to do as I please either inside Parliament or outside Parliament. For my part, when the necessary time for consulting my people down where I live in Bow and Bromley has elapsed, I am going to take just this stand, that I cannot be a party, and will not be a party, to keeping in office either a Liberal Government or any other Government that refuses by any kind of subterfuge to see that justice is done to women during the present session of Parliament. Whatever may be the case with other parties, if there is one thing we, the Socialist and Labour Party, stand for, it is equality between the sexes in the eyes of the law. Other parties may have particular reasons for voting for women to have the franchise, but people who belong to the same political and social faith that I do come out and say we believe that men and women should be equally treated, that they should all be citizens, and that our business in life is to secure economic, social, and political freedom for men and women alike. And in the House of Commons, just now, the thing we are up against is this—it is true that you have a coalition Government, but it is also true that one part of that coalition at the present moment appears to have the power to determine the whole policy of the parties that make up the coalition. Now, I have been what many of you probably are not, a Home Ruler, ever since I had anything to do with political life. I learned a good deal of my ideas of freedom from working in the Home Rule movement a good many years ago, and I remember, too, this, and I learned this thoroughly, in regard to political offences, offences committed in the struggle for political emancipation, that Liberals always declared that people who committed those offences should never be treated as criminals in the ordinary sense. But to-day Home Rule has taken on another guise, and we are all very respectable, decent gentlemen in the House of Commons. All the old militant methods are forgotten, and everyone speaks quite kindly and respectfully of the other. But I think that we should face the fact that, if Ireland wants Home Rule, on this question of Votes for Women the eighty Irish Members have no right to cast their votes against us, irrespective of their Suffrage opinions, simply because they want to maintain their position as Home Rulers. I do not think it can be defended that those who are asking for the right to manage their own affairs in Ireland should also claim the right to use their votes merely to keep the Government in power and prevent your getting the Franchise during the present Session. The position that we are in is just this, that if the Irish Members were to abstain from doing this, and if our own Members of the Labour Party fought as tenaciously for this as many of them want to fight for other questions, there is no doubt that Votes for Women could be obtained, and obtained very quickly. But unless something is done, and done pretty quickly, to make the Irish Party understand the sort of indignation that will arise in this country if they want to dominate, not only their own affairs, but this question of Woman Suffrage, I believe they will reap exactly what they are sowing.

When people argue that the Amendments may get put through, you have to remember this—for everyone in the House of Commons knows there are manœuvrings going on every hour of the day—that Governments have means of cajoling and persuading their supporters not to do the thing they want to do. If the word goes forth, as it did go forth on the Conciliation Bill, that it will be very bad for the prestige of the Government if the Prime Minister is defeated on this matter, then we know quite well what will happen.

It is said that the Labour Party, as a Party, ought not to have been circularised in the fashion that I circularised the rank and file. I sent that circular round with a definite set purpose I wanted to discover where our own people in this country and where our own people in the House of Commons were, because many people believed up to the other day that the Labour Party were pledged—it was the minimum they could be pledged to—to vote against the third reading of the Reform Bill if women were not included in the Bill. But we know now quite well that in this Hall, months ago, when people thought such a pledge was given, no such pledge was given. Language, of course, is understood by different people in different ways. I myself never thought the pledge had been given, but a good many other people in the hall thought it had been given, and cheered in a very rapturous manner. We now know where we are. I do not think, even if we were pledged to vote against the third reading, that is anything nearly definite enough. The real fact is, while you are leaving this matter to private members, by leaving them to bring in their amendments, you are leaving it to the power of the Government—not by putting their Whips on; there are heaps of other ways of getting at members—to compel their Members not to do the right thing. Therefore, I asked that the branches of the I.L.P. should pelt their members and pelt the Labour Party, pelt the Prime Minister, pelt all kinds of people, with resolutions saying what they want to be done; and I have faith, friends, that the rank and file of the Labour movement up and down the country will be behind you in your fight to get emancipation. They will be behind you because every workman knows quite well that the denial of the right of citizenship marks the inferiority of his wife in the eyes of the law as against any other man in the land. Therefore, I have not any sort of feeling but that the Labour movement generally will be behind the women in their demand that the Labour Party should not help to keep in power a Government that refuses to do this act of justice. (Loud cheers.)

Eternal Disgrace

There is one other thing in that connection. A friend wrote to me the other day and said he did not think I ought to have said the Labour Party would be eternally disgraced if it did keep in power a Government that cheated women of the Franchise. Well, there are some things that men may do, some things that politicians may do, that are bad enough, but I want to say this about politics in this country. If we have come to the pass that men may promise at election times to do certain things, and then, when the time comes, find all kinds of reasons for not doing it, then if that is going to be excused by public opinion, I do not think politics can be debased any more than that. I think we shall have reached the very lowest level, and I say quite unreservedly that if we do keep a Government in power who refuses to do this simple act of justice when we know that the majority of men in the House of Commons are pledged to do it, then those of us who keep the Government there are equally guilty with the Government for the betrayal of the women of the land.

You have been fighting this fight in the vigorous sort of manner with which you are all so well acquainted during the past six years. I do not think any of you ought to be in the least degree depressed or downhearted over the progress you have made. Despite Governments, despite Party discipline, despite all the trickery and all the manœuvrings in the House of Commons, I believe your movement is stronger to-day than ever it has been before. It is quite true that you have irritated statesmen. It is quite true that many people have laughed and jeered at what they have been pleased to call the hysterical actions of militant women, but I believe, as I think it can be proved in the history of the world, that when a body of people determine that life itself is of no account as compared with the cause they are fighting for, then the common people in the long run rise up and respect and revere those people who help them to win. I travel about this country a good deal. I hardly spend a week-end in my own home. I speak to great meetings in all parts of the United Kingdom, and everywhere I go I can see the growing sense of responsibility on the part of men and women, and I can see growing up a tremendous regard and respect for the women who have been carrying on this campaign. There has been no movement worth the name that has ever been carried through without sacrifice of some kind or the other; and there are no people in the world that respond more to that, than the poor people who live in poor districts. Rich and well-to-do people are hardly able to understand what sacrifice really means, but the poor know what it means, and they can respect those who bear ills, who bear troubles, who face difficulties, when they are not called upon to do so. Believe me, friends, waken up the working-class women and you will win this fight very quickly. And I am certain when they hear the story of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, when they know that an English Government, that the English Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—the man who, with his wife, welcomed the Irish prisoners some years ago, William O'Brien amongst them, who went out into various parts of England protesting against the treatment of William O'Brien and other prisoners—when the common people understand that those same men have been treating two Englishwomen in the fashion that those two women were treated in a Dublin jail, they will throw this Government out.

Faith in the Ordinary Man and Woman

Then there is another thing. I read the speeches, I read the articles in the newspapers, and it seems to me that the end of it is—Trust the politicians. Someone once said, "Put not your trust in princes." I would like to say to you, "Put not your trust in politicians." If princes are not to be trusted, I can assure you politicians are not, because in the House of Commons what both sides keep in mind is—the one, how to keep on the Treasury Bench, and the other, how to get on the Treasury Bench Principle plays no part in the business at all. These people will only be moved by the power of public opinion outside the House of Commons. I have absolute faith in the ordinary man and the ordinary woman of our land. I want to go to them with the message that we are out, not for any Party, but for the entire nation. We are out, not for any sex, but to fight for the emancipation of women because we believe it will help to free men as much as it will help to free women. A great people can only be great when justice reigns throughout the land. You have heard what Mrs. Pankhurst said about the White Slave Traffic. Believe me, you can pass all the White Slave Traffic Bills you like, but the real thing to do about prostitution, about destitution, about everything that is wrong with men and women, is to remove the causes that lead to these things. I am proud to have had ever so tiny a hand in this tremendous agitation. I am proud to have lived to have had the privilege of standing on platforms and asking for justice for my wife, and if my mother were alive, for her, and for my daughters. And I am proud to be in the Suffrage Movement, because I believe it is *the* movement in the world. I want you to realise that on you is cast the tremendous responsibility of coming out and taking your places in the fight, because you want men and women to join hand in hand and destroy the hard economic conditions, the harsh political conditions, and bring about that kind of comradeship between men and women which will help us, as Blake said, "To build Jerusalem, In England's green and pleasant land."

AT THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL

October 17, 1912

For the third time this year the Royal Albert Hall was the scene, last Thursday evening, of a mass meeting, held under the auspices of the Women's Social and Political Union. Every ticket was sold beforehand, and the whole of the lower orchestra was occupied by those members of the Union who have suffered imprisonment during 1912. Dressed in white and carrying silver pennons, these formed an effective background to the speakers; and before the proceedings opened they led the singing of the "March of the Women," which was conducted in person by the composer, Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc. The grave announcement published that morning had produced a tense feeling among the audience which betrayed itself from time to time. The situation was clearly being discussed all over the Hall, and both before and after the meeting people formed themselves into groups, obviously for the same purpose. A sum of £3,600 was raised, and the resolution was passed with only three or four dissentients.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who took the chair, said: From all over the world come messages to this great meeting. Of those messages I have selected two. The first comes from the seat of war in the East to the seat of war in England—in this meeting. It is from our friend, Mr. Nevinson, and I think when he wrote it he had not only in mind the events of which he was a witness, but he had in mind the situation at home and the enemy with whom women have to deal in this war of ours. He says, "My thoughts are with your meeting. Forward against all Turks."

The second message to this meeting comes from Paris—from Christabel Pankhurst, who would be here did she not feel it her duty to be where she is. She says, "We must fight as never before, and give no quarter to the enemy."

The Resolution

It is my duty from the Chair to move the following resolution, to which I and the speakers will speak:

> That this meeting pledges itself to continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage, and declares relentless opposition towards the Government and its allies until they abandon their anti-Suffrage policy and introduce a Government measure for the political enfranchisement of women.

Whenever I stand upon this platform in the Albert Hall I can never feel that I am speaking to an ordinary political meeting. It seems to me rather that I am assisting at a review, and to-night I feel more than ever that we are reviewing our forces. We are considering and measuring our strength; we are seeing where we stand, considering the force of the opposing army, and deciding how our campaign is to be pursued. One thing is essential to an army, and that thing is made up of twofold requirements. In an army you need unity of purpose. In an army you also need unity of policy. In the Women's Social and Political Union from its initiation until quite recently we have had complete unity of purpose, and we have had complete unity of policy. That unity of purpose is still the same. I cannot continue my speech without referring to a statement which has been published by the agreement of all parties concerned, in two suffrage papers to-day, in Votes for Women, which is so well known to you all, and in the new infant of the Women's Social and Political Union, which henceforth will be its official organ, *The Suffragette*. That statement is signed by four persons—by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, by my daughter, and by myself. When unity of policy is no longer there, then I say to-night, as I have always said, a movement is weakened, and so it is better that those who cannot agree, who cannot see eye to eye as to policy, should set themselves free, should part and should be free to continue their policy, as they see it, in their own way, unfettered by those with whom they can no longer agree. I give place to none in appreciation and gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for the incalculable services that they have rendered to the militant movement for Woman Suffrage, and I firmly believe that the women's movement will be strengthened by their being free to work for Woman Suffrage in the future as they think best, while we of the Women's Social and Political Union shall continue the militant agitation initiated by my daughter and myself and a handful of women more than six years ago.

The Labour Party

Now for the resolution. In that resolution we declare that we mean to continue the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage, and that we offer uncompromising opposition to the Government and its allies. That Government is kept in office by the coalition of three Parties. You have the Liberal Party, which is nominally the governing party, though they could not live another day if it were not for their coalition with the Nationalist Party and the Labour Party. So we say, not only to the Liberal Party, but also to the Nationalist Party and to the Labour Party, "So long as you keep in office an anti-Suffrage Government, you are parties to their guilt, and from henceforth we offer to you the same opposition which we give to the people whom you are keeping in power by your support." We have summoned the Labour Party to do their duty by their own programme, and to go into opposition to the Government on every question until the Government do justice to women. They, apparently, are not prepared to do that. Some of them tell us other things are more important than the liberty of women—than the liberty of working women. We say, "Then, gentlemen, we must teach you the value of your own principles, and until you are prepared to stand for the right of women to decide their lives and the laws under which they shall live, you, with Mr. Asquith and Co., are equally responsible for all that has happened and is happening to women in this struggle for emancipation."

Criticisms of Militancy

There is a great deal of criticism, ladies and gentlemen, of this movement. It always seems to me, when the anti-Suffrage members of the Government criticise militancy in women, that it is very like beasts of prey reproaching the gentler animals who turn in desperate resistance when at the point of death. Criticism from gentlemen who do not hesitate to order out armies to kill and slay their opponents, who do not hesitate to encourage Party mobs to attack defenceless women in public meetings—criticism from them hardly rings true. Then I get letters from people who tell me they are ardent Suffragists, but who say they do not like the recent developments of the militant movement, and implore me to urge the members of our Union not to be reckless with regard to human life. Ladies and gentlemen, the only recklessness the militant Suffragists have shown about human life has been of their own lives, not of the lives of others, and I say here and now that it never has been, and it never will be, the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union recklessly to endanger human life. We leave that to the enemy. We leave that to men in their warfare. It is not the method of women. No, even from the point of view of policy, militancy affecting the security of human life would be out of place. There is something that Governments care far more for than they care for human life, and that is the security of property, and so it is through property we shall strike the enemy. From henceforward the women who agree with me will say, "We disregard your laws, gentlemen, we set the liberty and the dignity of women and the welfare of women above all such considerations, and we shall continue this war as we have done in the past; and what sacrifice of property, or injury to property, accrues will not be our fault; it will be the fault of that Government which admits the justice of our demands, but refuses to concede them without the evidence, so they have told us, without the evidence afforded to Governments of the past that those who asked for liberty were in earnest in their demands."

Why Women are Militant

Why are we militant? The day after the outrages in Wales I met some of the women who had exposed themselves to the indecent violence of that mob. I say "indecent" advisedly, because in addition to the facts reported in the newspapers—facts verified by photographs—in spite of the contradiction of Mr. Lloyd George, in addition to what found its place in the newspapers, those women suffered from assaults of a kind which it was impossible to print in a decent newspaper. There was one woman whom I saw the day after—a woman with grown-up children, the mother of a son twenty-five years of age. She described to me the way in which she was assaulted. I said to her, "How could you bear it; it seems to me that is the hardest thing of all to bear?" And she said, "All the time I thought of the women who, day by day, and year by year, are suffering through the White Slave Traffic, and I said to myself, 'I will bear this, and even worse than this, to help to win power to put an end to that abominable slavery.'" Until by law we can establish an equal moral code for men and women, women will be fair game for the vicious section of the population, inside Parliament as well as out of it. Some people tell you that in order that you may live happy and protected lives it is necessary that women should be degraded. That is a lie. But even were it the horrible truth there are other things we women have to deal with. Even if we tolerated the degradation of grown women, can we tolerate the degradation of helpless little children? When I began this militant campaign I was a Poor Law Guardian, and it was my duty to go through a workhouse infirmary, and never shall I forget seeing a little girl of thirteen lying in bed playing with a doll, and when I asked what was her illness I was told she was on the eve of becoming a mother, and she was infected with a loathsome disease, and on the point of bringing, no doubt, a diseased child into the world. Was not that enough to make me a Militant Suffragette? A little later, in a bye-election campaign against the Government candidate in Leeds, I had occasion to visit a Salvation Army hotel in that city, and in the matron's room there was a little child, eleven years of age—she did not look older than eight—and I said, how was it she was there; why was not she playing with other children? And they said to me, "We dare not let her play with other children; she has been on the streets for more than a year." These, women in this meeting, are facts.

A Great Mission

Now I say to the men in this meeting: Can you put an end to this horrible degradation of the race without our help? It is you who are responsible for the present state of things. True, you have inherited it. It is not the men of to-day who are directly responsible, but you are responsible so long as you refuse to women the right to help you to deal with evils which you are admittedly unable to cope with by yourselves. We woman Suffragists have a great mission—the greatest mission the world has ever known. It is to free half the human race, and through that freedom to save the rest. Will you help us, you women in this meeting? Well, then, if you will, put aside all craven fear, gird on your armour, be militant as we others are, each in your own way. Those of you who can express your militancy by going to the House of Commons, and refusing to leave without satisfaction, as we did in the early days—do so. Those of you who can express your militancy by facing Party mobs at Cabinet Ministers' meetings when you remind them of their falseness to principle—do so. Those of you who can express your militancy by joining us in our anti-Government bye-election policy—do so. Those of you who can break windows—break them. Those of you who can still further attack the secret idol of property so as to make the Government realise that property is as greatly endangered by Woman Suffrage as it was by the Chartists of old—do so. And my last word is to the Government: I incite this meeting to rebellion. I say to the Government: You have not dared to take the leaders of Ulster for their incitement to rebellion, take me if you dare; but if you dare, I tell you this, that so long as those who incited to armed rebellion and the destruction of human life in Ulster are at liberty you will not keep me in prison. So long as men rebels—and voters—are at liberty, we will not remain in prison, First Division or no First Division. Although the vote is not yet won, we who are militants are free; remember only the freedom of the spirit, and join in this magnificent rebellion of women in the twentieth century.

Mrs. Tuke having formally seconded the resolution, Mrs. Pankhurst continued: What I have said has been said by a woman on behalf of women. Now I am going to call upon a splendid exception amongst men, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.

(A full report of Mr. Lansbury's speech will be found on page 57.)

A Business Statement

At the conclusion of Mr. Lansbury's speech, Mrs. Pankhurst rose and said:

Before I ask Mrs. Tuke to speak to you I want to say a few business words. During the months that the practical work of the Women's Social and Political Union has been in the hands of Mrs. Tuke, Miss Annie Kenney, and their colleagues, there have been two Albert Hall meetings. In those meetings the large sum of £16,000 was raised for this movement. In some of the newspapers to-day there appeared a statement that the assets of the Women's Social and Political Union amounted to £10,000. That is true; but those assets — that £10,000—are already appropriated. You know we have taken new premises in Kingsway. To make those premises secure for the work of the Union, a sum of £6,000 has been deposited in safe hands to cover the rent and other expenses for three years. A further sum of £2,000 will, in the course of the next two or three days, be placed in the hands of a trustee to secure Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence from all possibility of financial loss in connection with the Union's premises and other activities. A sum of £2,000 remains for the usual expenses, week by week, of the organisation, and to finance the organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, *The Suffragette*.

Mrs. Tuke's Speech

Mrs. Tuke then rose and made a short speech, in the course of which she said: A few days ago I was reading a religious newspaper, containing, amongst other matter, a sermon by the Bishop of London, and the report of a speech delivered by him at a meeting recently held in support of the White Slave Bill. The text from which he preached struck me, as a Suffragette, as being extremely suggestive. It ran thus: "They that have turned the world upside down have come hither also."

The Collection

Mrs. Pankhurst made a short appeal for funds, and promises were handed up to the platform to the amount of £3,306. A box collection was also taken, which brought the total up to £3,600.

Miss Annie Kenney dealt especially with the second part of the resolution, saying:

Now, this means that at the next by-election if a Labour representative seeks election (with the exception of Mr. Lansbury) the W.S.P.U. will be there, and we shall offer the same relentless opposition to the Labour men as we have hitherto shown to Liberal candidates. We are being told on all sides that the best way to tackle the Labour Party is inside the House of Commons. We have come to the conclusion that we have not only to fight them in the House of Commons, but we have also to prevent them getting there, because so long as we have Labour members who are prepared to support a Government who are responsible for forcible feeding and for the imprisonment of hundreds of women, then we say those men must be opposed and looked upon as the enemies of women equally with the Liberals themselves.

Mrs. Pankhurst then put the resolution to the meeting, and on a show of hands it was seen to be carried, with three or four dissentients. The result was received with loud cheering.

MR. LAWRENCE'S LIABILITY

Misapprehension has arisen with regard to the statement made by Mrs. Pankhurst on Thursday night that a sum of £2,000 out of the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union was being placed in the hands of a trustee to meet contingent liabilities of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself. This has conveyed to many people the idea that we are seeking from the Union reimbursement for the bill of costs which the Government has presented to us for prosecuting us and also a contingent guarantee for any civil damages which might be secured against us. This is entirely erroneous.

The sum in question has been put aside solely to meet the liabilities which we have incurred in entering into contracts in our own name on behalf of the Union, the principal of which are the agreement for the premises of the Union in 4, Clement's Inn, which has not yet expired, the lease of the premises of the Woman's Press, and other leases in different parts of the country. When these liabilities are satisfied the balance of the £2,000 will become the property of the Union.

So far as the costs of the Government prosecution and any civil adjudged damages against us are concerned, we have not and never have had any intention of weakening the fighting funds of the Women's Social and Political Union by allowing ourselves to be reimbursed for them.—**F. W. Pethick Lawrence.**

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

In the House of Commons on Monday, Mr. Barnston asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to a speech delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst last Thursday openly advocating window smashing and other destruction of property; and whether the police proposed to take action so as to prevent tradesmen and others suffering financial loss from such conduct?

Mr. McKenna: The police will do their utmost to prevent property being destroyed in the manner indicated.

Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to a speech delivered by Mrs. Pankhurst on Thursday last, in which she urged her hearers to break windows and to do other injury to property; and whether the Government were going to take any proceedings against her in consequence?

Mr. McKenna: This is a question which should be addressed to my right hon. friend, the Attorney-General.

Lord Robert Cecil: Does not the question of whether proceeding shall be taken come before the Home Secretary?

Mr. McKenna: It is conceivable that the Attorney-General might consult me on the point, but primarily the question should be addressed to him.

Mr. Kellaway: Has the right hon. gentleman noticed that on this occasion Mrs. Pankhurst justified her speech by reference to the action of the Orangemen in Belfast?

THE LABOUR PARTY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

New Election Policy of the W.S.P.U.

The W.S.P.U. have announced their intention of fighting the Labour Party by opposing their candidates at all elections. In describing this new departure, Miss Christabel Pankhurst says:—

"Hitherto only Liberal candidates have been opposed at elections, but from now onwards Labour candidates will also be opposed. When a Labour candidate is elected, he votes in the House of Commons precisely as a Liberal Member would vote, and he becomes an integral part of the Government forces. Whatever difference there may be between Liberal and Labour candidates in the matter of election speeches, there is no difference between Liberal and Labour Members in the House of Commons. Consequently, the next election contest in which a Labour candidate is nominated will see the W.S.P.U. striving to prevent that Labour candidate's return. It should be clearly understood that the W.S.P.U. attack is not made upon Labour and Socialist principles. Nor is it made because of dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Labour and Socialist rank and file who are urging their leaders and Parliamentary representatives to force the Government to choose between defeat and Votes for Women. The attack is upon the official Labour Party."

Miss Pankhurst proceeds to point out that the women's opposition could have been averted if the Labour Party had used their power to compel the Government to introduce a measure giving votes to women. This they could have done by voting consistently against the Government until this course had been taken, or until the Government had been driven from office. To the objection of the *Labour Leader* that women would be no better off if a Conservative Government were returned to power, Miss Pankhurst's reply is that no Government could treat the question worse than the present one, and that the Liberal Party might possibly be better in Opposition than they are in power. "Every seat lost to the Coalition," she concludes, "is a step in the right direction."

This declaration of war on the part of the W.S.P.U. followed upon the refusal of the Parliamentary Labour Party (who met the National Executive of the Party in conference, in the House of Commons on Tuesday in last week) to adopt the Anti-Government policy urged upon them in the resolution recently passed all over the country by Labour organisations. The resolution referred to is the one framed by Mr. Lansbury, and condemns

> the Government for introducing a Franchise Bill for men only; repudiates the sham pledges by which the Government are trying to trick the advocates of votes for women; protests against the Government, which is guilty of such a policy, being kept in power by the aid of Labour votes; and, finally, calls upon the Labour members of Parliament to vote constantly and relentlessly against the Government from now onwards until they have either driven them from office or compelled them to introduce and carry a proposal giving votes to women on equal terms with men.

This resolution, as we stated last week, has been passed by numerous branches of the I.L.P., to which the Halifax and Cudworth I.L.P. may now be added, and by other Labour organisations, the latest to do so being the Executive Council of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union, familiarly known as the "Dockers' Union," and the Dockers' Trade Union of Dundee.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S VIEWS

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the Labour Party, when interviewed by a Press representative, is reported to have said that the "Labour Party will not be influenced by the threats used against it, but will go on steadily pressing for the reform which the Women's Social and Political Union is supposed to have at heart. I regret not on personal but on public grounds the attack which is made upon us. The Union is doing almost irreparable damage to the cause, which I and every one of my colleagues ardently wish to see carried to triumph."

In a letter read at a meeting of the Women's Labour League, held at the Hampstead Garden Suburb on Saturday night, Mr. MacDonald wrote:—

Should women by any mischance fail to be included in the Reform Bill the suffering will not be upon the rich women, who would be enfranchised because they pay taxes and are insulted by their servants voting and not themselves, but upon the poor working woman who has to do all her own housework and the housework of other people in addition, and also upon her who has to work in the factory and workshop, and in the poorer-paid professions, to make an income for herself or to augment that of her underpaid husband. These women have taken practically no part in what I can't help calling the criminal proceedings, which now stand as the only serious barrier between women and the franchise. When I see what havoc these militants have done, both to public opinion and to individual tempers, my thoughts do not turn to them and their subscribers, but to the women who are represented by the Women's Labour League, and whose cause and interest have been betrayed by the policy to which I have referred. We are told that if the House of Commons does not now enfranchise women we shall have a sex war. If the working women of the country only knew what has been going on for the last two or three years it is not a sex but a class war that would be declared against the wealthier sections of women, for whose stupidity and vanity they have now to suffer. It is not men who have stood in the way of the enfranchisement of women, but a small section of the women themselves. The comedy which has been going on in the Women's Social and Political Union this week throws light on both the minds and the methods which have led the cause of women's enfranchisement from the border of success to the brink of ruin. Now, appropriately enough, these women have declared war upon Labour. It will turn us neither to the right nor to the left in our efforts to get women included in the Reform Bill, but working women will not miss the real meaning of the declaration. I wanted to elaborate this and to explain in detail why I have come to such a conclusion. Unfortunately, I can't do it this week, for reasons which I have explained. I want, however, to assure the members of the Women's Labour League (and to these alone do I feel any responsibility in this matter) that the Labour Party is exerting, and will continue to exert, every influence which the political circumstances give it to secure that when the Reform Bill passes it will include women. The Labour Party will take what action circumstances may impose upon it when it sees what exactly is to happen. It will not be dragged into a policy of impossibilism by any excited factions outside, and if it seems to some of the more ardent women to be undemonstrative in its action, that is only because it is convinced that the very best service it can render to the women's cause is to be done in that way.

The *Daily Citizen* commented at once upon the new W.S.P.U. policy in its leading article as follows:—

The announcement that the Women's Social and Political Union—the militant section of women suffragists—intends to offer active opposition to Labour candidates in three-cornered fights comes as no surprise and holds no terrors. Those who turn against their best personal friends—the friends who have helped them with money and service—may also be expected to turn against the movement which first gave them a platform, and which from first to last has been loyal to their cause. Why has this new policy been adopted? Is it because the Labour party has refused to vote for the political freedom of women on the same terms as men? Every member of the party has always voted for this. Is it because the Labour members will be less zealous in the future? In the future, as in the past, the Labour members, whatever the consequence, will stand by the claims of women to enfranchisement.

The W.S.P.U. has declared war on the Labour party because the party wisely and properly declines to tear up mandates received from its own conferences and pledges given to constituents in order to accept instructions from an outside hostile organisation which at by-elections has been utterly indifferent as to whether Labour men or Tories were returned. Now what is the organisation which takes up so arrogant and preposterous a position? It is without democratic basis or authority. One or two officers elect themselves, and shape with jealous hands every point of policy. Among the members freedom of thought and action is tyrannically repressed. Mrs. Despard and Miss Billington committed the crime of thinking for themselves, and they had to go, and now two others follow for the same offence. We readily acknowledge the great courage and devotion shown by many of the rank and file of the militant movement, but they have blindly obeyed orders and accepted the consequence and punishment without having the slightest voice in deciding what the plans shall be. That the Labour party should be expected to take its marching orders from such a body is absurd and ludicrous on the face of it. What would the proposed policy involve—this policy of voting constantly and relentlessly against the Government on every question? It involves departure from the instructions of the annual conference. It involves betrayal of those measures which the Labour members pledged themselves to their constituents to support. It involves opposition to and the defeat of any industrial reform supported by the Government. It destroys the chance of women being enfranchised by means of amendments to the Franchise and Registration Bill. It assumes that the duty of Labour men in Parliament is merely to turn out the Liberals in order to put in the Tories, who are equally opposed to women's suffrage. It is a policy, in short, which the great majority of earnest women suffragists would regret and deplore. The Labour members will fight hard to secure the enfranchisement of women, but it must be along other and more effective lines. No member of the party will desert or betray the women's cause, but their task is likely to be made doubly hard by tactics which are deplorably short-sighted and disastrous. . . .

—**Daily Citizen.**

SUFFRAGETTES!! PLEASE READ THIS!!

VOTES FOR WOMEN, October 11, page 31, says: "We recommend ALL our members to use

LACTOLINE

'MILK' TOILET SOAP AND TOILET CREAM,

and by so doing you will help to support the cause."

Every lady **must** use **soap** and **Toilet cream**, also most ladies require **Toilet powder.**

• If you have not already acted on the advice of Votes for Women, and tried Lactoline, the proprietors have decided for **one week only** to make a **Special Offer** to Suffragettes, and have laid aside 10,000 sets of Lactoline Soap, Cream, and Face Powder, to be **GIVEN AWAY** at almost half price to 10,000 Suffragettes, **one set only to each member.**

The 10,000 sets will consist of:—

1 Box Lactoline Toilet Soap (3 tablets)	2/-
1 Jar Lactoline Toilet Cream (full size) or **Milk Foam** (non-greasy cream)...	1/3
1 Box Lactoline Toilet Powder	1/6
	4/9

To all writing **at once** to the Lactoline Co., Ltd., 34-37, Bartholomew's Close, London, E.C., for one of these sets, it will be sent post free for 2/6, and in addition will be given away

100 PRIZES

to the first 100 ladies who apply for one of these sets.—The prize being a

Beautiful Hand-Drawn Worked Table Centre.

"WRITE AT ONCE."

Lactoline Soap is soft and emollient and made from milk, Lanoline, and Vaseline.

Lactoline Cream cleanses the skin from all dirt and impurity, and leaves it a beautiful milk-white.

The *Spectator* says:—

"We predict confidently therefore that even if the branches of the Independent Labour Party petition Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (*which they will not do*) till they are blue in the face, the Labour members in the House will not attempt to turn out the Government over Woman Suffrage. When they have opportunities to extort promises from the Government they will use them for other purposes."

The italics are ours. As Mr. Zangwill once said, "The worst of the *Spectator* is that it does not spectate," and we would like to remind that unobservant journal that the Independent Labour Party have been busy doing what it says they will never do for the past fortnight or more. We have no information to hand as to whether they are yet "blue in the face." It is more than likely, however, that they may be purple, white and green.

MR. PHILIP SNOWDEN HECKLED

As a result of the new election policy of the W.S.P.U., Mr. Philip Snowden was frequently interrupted by militant Suffragists during his speech at the Liberal Christian League meeting, held in the King's Weigh House Chapel last Monday. He "wished the Government would make Woman Suffrage a Government question." Straightway came a voice, "Why don't the Labour Party make them?" Mr. Snowden hastened to declare that if any power he could exert could compel them to do so he would not hesitate for a single moment to exercise it. Exhorted by several interruptors to "throw the Government out," he proceeded to say that he was not there to speak on behalf of the Labour Party, in which he held no official position and had little influence, but if a vote of his at any time cast against the Government could be of service to the cause of women, then he would not hesitate for a single moment to cast that vote. The Conciliation Bill was killed by militancy, and if they failed to secure the passage of the amendment enfranchising women in the Reform Bill, militancy and militancy mainly would be responsible for that defeat.

"I am not attacking militancy," Mr. Snowden went on; "I have never attacked it. It did great service to the cause in the early days. But all agitators ought to recognise that you cannot pursue with success indefinitely any one line of action. I can quite realise that the time may come when real militancy—not a make believe militancy — will be absolutely necessary." (Shame!)

He further expressed his conviction that had there been complete unity amongst all the Women's Suffrage societies six or nine months ago no possible combination of forces could have prevented the success of the cause during the present session of Parliament. As for himself, he would not vote for any measure giving further enfranchisement to men until the women's claim had been conceded.

To an interrupter who questioned him as to the attitude of the Labour Party Mr. Snowden replied that he entirely disagreed with the advice which had been given to the Labour Party in certain quarters that they should oppose the Government on everything until they succeeded in getting the vote for women. A minority could not force its opinion on a Government in a democratic country by terrorism. But in addition members of Parliament would not be justified as representatives in adopting such a policy, which would mean the sacrifice of all other purposes for which they had been returned. Never had such a disastrous policy been recommended to the Labour Party by those who had never had a serious day's experience of the practical work of politics.

MR. MACDONALD'S ALBERT HALL PLEDGE

We published last week a copy of the letter sent to Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald by six I.L.P. secretaries, previous to the "War Against Poverty" meeting at the Albert Hall, at which Mr. MacDonald was to have presided. The letter asked when he was going to redeem the pledge given by him as Chairman of the Labour Party on February 13 last, when, in reply to the question: "Will you turn out the Government on the question of Woman Suffrage?" Mr. MacDonald replied: "Certainly—certainly!"

Mr. F. E. Matzen, one of the signatories to the letter, has sent us the following postcard, which he received in reply from Mr. MacDonald:—

My statement at the Albert Hall was specific, and will be acted upon. It was that we shall support women's suffrage even if by our support of that we shall turn out the Government. That such a statement should be twisted by one-ideaed people into something quite different is a matter for them to reconcile either with their intelligence or their honesty, not for me to pay the least regard to. If we fail in our efforts it will not be through lack of energy on our part, but because of the criminal stupidity of those who profess to be supporting it.

J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Chesham Bois, Oct. 12.

Mr. Matzen has replied as follows to Mr. MacDonald:—

Dear Comrade,—Your postcard reply of the 12th inst., in answer to the letter addressed to you *re* Albert Hall Meeting of the 11th inst., has been duly received by me, and submitted to my co-signatories. As it is somewhat ambiguous we shall be glad if you will kindly let us know if we may read "force" for "support," i.e., that you are prepared to force women's suffrage this session, even if by the forcing of same you should turn out the Government. Otherwise it seems—at least to us—that if the Government drop the Bill you cannot effectively redeem your pledge within the lifetime of this Parliament.

As you do not define what you mean by the "twisting" of your pledge "into something quite different," the matter is not one on which we can express an opinion as to the moral obliquity of others; neither can we say whether you are morally justified in disregarding it. Under any circumstances we fail to see why or how you should be prevented from fulfilling your pledge "to turn out the Government should it fail to give this session Citizen Rights, on equal terms, to men and women" because of the "criminal stupidity of those who profess to be supporting it." We would point out that this and other destructive criticisms offered by you and by others in the press have nothing to do with the subject matter of our letter to you of the 10th inst. It is purely negative, not positive criticism, and only tends to confuse effect with cause. . . .

As to the question asked by the *Labour Leader*: "Is the enfranchisement of women sufficiently important to justify" the turning out of the Government, in view of what measures of "Social Reform" that they may have in store for the masses, we could say that Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and the Reversal of the Osborne Judgment, have no right to be proceeded with until women have the same Citizen Rights as men to express their opinion of these respective measures. These three measures only affect a comparatively small section of the community, while the withholding of Citizen Rights from women affects over twelve million of the population.

Even though the *Labour Leader*—the official organ of the I.L.P.—is prepared to accept something less than "equal terms for men and women," we hope that you will not allow anything to deter the Labour Party from availing itself of the great opportunity which the present session affords of emancipating the "poor working women," whose political, economic, and social interests have always been championed by the rank and file of the I.L.P.—ever ready to put principle before expediency.—Yours fraternally,

Fredk. E. Matzen.

7, Roslyn Avenue, Camberwell, S.E.,
Oct. 19.

THE LLANYSTUMDWY OUTRAGE

In the House of Commons on Monday Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary whether, by his inquiries into the Llanystumdwy outrages, he has ascertained what assaults were actually committed upon the women there; and, if so, whether he will state to the House the nature of such assaults?

Mr. Harold Smith asked whether, as a result of investigations into the recent disturbances at Wrexham and Llanystumdwy, any information has been obtained as to the pulling out of women's hair; and, if so, whether any action is to be taken?

Mr. McKenna: I will answer these questions together. I am informed by the Chief Constable that he has now obtained evidence of two cases of assault. As criminal proceedings are likely to be taken in one or both of these cases, I think it is better not to make any statement as to the particulars alleged.

Mr. Harold Smith: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will answer my question, whether any information has been obtained as to the pulling out of the women's hair?

Mr. McKenna: That is precisely one of the particulars in regard to which I do not wish to make any statement.

Mr. Harold Smith: Can the right hon. Gentleman give any reason why he should not state the nature of the offence?

Mr. McKenna: In the course of my answer I have given reasons.

Mr. Harold Smith: May I ask if this is an attempt to whitewash the Chancellor of the Exchequer?

Mr. McKenna: There is not the slightest ground for any suggestion of that sort.

MR. MORLEY ROBERTS REPLIES TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

In last week's Votes for Women we printed a letter from Mr. Lloyd George written to the editor of the *Standard*, in reply to a spirited attack upon the Llanystumdwy savages which had appeared in that paper over the signature of the well-known writer, Mr. Morley Roberts. Last Saturday, the following answer to Mr Lloyd George appeared in the *Standard* (Woman's Platform):—

To the Editor of the *Standard*.

Sir,—With reference to Mr. Lloyd George's reply to my article in your pages on the incidents at Llanystumdwy, I may say that I have taken more trouble than he imagines to acquaint myself both with what occurred there and his previous incitements to violent and brutal treatment of women political opponents.

Mr. George tells us that he did appeal to the crowd of his countrymen not to harm the interrupters. Students of politics and the platform understand such appeals without any comment, especially when they are read side by side with what he said previously at Wrexham and other places. At Wrexham he is reported to have remarked pleasantly: "I remember little eisteddfau at which prizes were given for . . . the best walking stick. One of these sticks, by the way, would be rather a good thing now." At Swansea he calmed his excited audience in his best sedative style, a style which he apparently thinks I should admire: "By and by we shall have to order sacks for them," "She and her friends must be flung out ruthlessly." At the Queen's Hall he suggested a gag should be used.

When one considers the light thus thrown on Mr. George's nature and methods, is it to be wondered at that his friends at Llanystumdwy did their best to please him? I have not the least wish to suppress any facts which Mr. George may think can help him to regain the good opinion of English gentlemen, but how can one credit him with good intentions after pondering over his record? It is by that a man is judged, and a politician is sometimes a man.

I shall not be the least concerned to apologise for anything that I have written until Mr. Lloyd George and his associates behave honourably towards women in the matter of the vote. His style of epistolary controversy has one weakness in it, to say no more. He is on his trial, not I. Whether he and his friends consider me a gentleman or not is naturally a matter of total indifference to me. His opinion, favourable or unfavourable, on such points has obviously no authority, and leaves me singularly cold.—I am, Sir, yours truly,

Morley Roberts.

Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W., October 17, 1912.

A RUMOUR

It is stated in *Reynolds' Newspaper* that an attempt has been made "by supposed Suffragists" to break into, or burn down, at midnight the newly erected Lloyd George Institute at Llanystumdwy, the scene of the recent outrageous treatment of women Suffragists. The attempt, if it was one, was intercepted by Mr. Samuel Roberts, the caretaker, who was close by.

Shortly after midnight, the account continues, he was startled by his wife shouting: "There is a light in the institute."

The two quickly dressed, and, taking a cycle lamp, keeping the light obscured, went towards the hall. Looking over the railings they saw two women crouching in a suspicious position. One was dressed as a man in a Norfolk suit, with a cap well drawn over her hair. She was lying full length on the ground, and the other was leaning on the window-sill. Asked what they were doing there, one replied, "We have lost our way, and are seekng shelter." "You had a light," said Mrs. Roberts. "We had not," came the reply. Pressed further, an electric flash was produced by one of the women.

With a view to testing their statement as to seeking shelter, Mrs Roberts asked them to her house for refreshment. After a muttered conversation between them they declined, and went off in the direction of Pwllheli. Both were of good address, speaking good English, and were wearing rubber shoes.

THE
CAMPAIGN AT HOLMWOOD
Sale fixed for Thursday Next

After sitting in the Mascot, the country home of Mr. Pethick Lawrence in Holmwood, for upwards of ten weeks, the bailiffs are now bestirring themselves. They have already taken an inventory of all the available articles in the house and garden, and a sale is definitely announced for Thursday in next week, October 31, to commence at 1 o'clock. Among the diverse articles included are the books which Mr. Pethick Lawrence won as prizes at school and college, the household linen, the garden tools, the dog kennel, and even the radiators by which the house is warmed.

The special campaign being conducted from Dorking continues to excite great interest in the neighbourhood, and it is clear from the attitude of listeners at the various meetings that there is a thorough understanding of the significance of the Government's attack upon the property of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Meetings will continue to be held up to the date of the sale, and the following have been arranged:—

Meetings Arranged

Fri., Oct. 25—Rotunda, Dorking, 6.30, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Liddle.

Sat., Oct. 26—Holmwood, 4.30, Miss Naylor, Miss Liddle; Rotunda, Dorking, 6.30, Miss Naylor, Miss Liddle.

Mon., Oct. 28—Rotunda, Dorking, 6.30, Miss Hicks, M.A.: Holmwood (Norfolk Arms), 6.30, Miss Naylor, Miss Liddle.

Poster Parades will be held in Dorking on Tuesday and Wednesday. All offers of help will be gratefully received by Miss Liddle, Hon. Organiser, 43, Howard Street, Dorking, where all information may be obtained.

MILITANT METHODS IN AMERICA
Suffragist Ejected from a Washington Meeting

Americans can no longer boast that their important public men are immune from the attentions of militant women suffragists. One of their number, Miss Malone, last night interrupted Dr. Woodrow Wilson in the course of a speech at Brooklyn with the familiar question. For a time the audience was in confusion while Miss Malone was ejected, despite chivalrous but non-committal protests on the part of Dr. Woodrow Wilson.

The incident is symbolic of the way in which, during the present campaign, women have thrown tradition to the winds and have actively interested themselves in electioneering. Mr. Roosevelt's organisation has, for instance, an effective women's branch, presided over by Miss Jane Addams, and, though the other parties have followed the lead, his campaign managers think it is probable that thanks to his "Votes for Women" plank and social reform programme, the ex-President will have on his side most of such direct or indirect influence that American women enjoy in politics. — **The Times.**

◆

"Canada for Women," says a headline. This shows great and unexpected moderation. We always were under the impression that, generally, they wanted the earth.—**The Globe.**

Brimsdown
BRITISH
MANUFACTURE
PATENT
WIRUM LAMPS
From FIRST to LAST-STRONG always

AFTER SUNDOWN

Electric light is best when the lamps you use are—

BRIMSDOWN WIRUM

They are STRONG ALWAYS and give that clean, clear, steady light which makes—

PERFECT ILLUMINATION

Sold by all Stores and Electrical Contractors

Full Particulars from—

THE BRIMSDOWN LAMP WORKS LTD

Dept B, Kingsway House, London, W.C

Brimsdown Wirum Lamps

MRS. LEIGH & MISS GLADYS EVANS

Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans appear to have been living in a state of siege in Dublin. Mrs. Leigh, who, it will be remembered, was removed in a state of collapse to a doctor's house on her release from Mountjoy Prison last month, is now slowly recovering; but she has been informed that if she goes out she will be arrested at once for not reporting herself. The licence which was originally read to her when she came out of prison, contained no reference to this obligation to report herself, but she has since been served with another, requiring her to report herself at the nearest police station once a month, and to notify to the police every change of residence on her part. Knowing the spirit of Mrs. Leigh, we feel sure she will not comply with these requirements.

With regard to Miss Evans, who has also been slowly recovering from the effects of forcible feeding, in another doctor's house in Dublin, news reaches us as we go to press that she was rearrested on Wednesday afternoon for failing to report herself to the police. Our comment on this latest abominable outrage will be found on the "Outlook" page. Both houses have been watched night and day for some time by three or more policemen in plain clothes, evidently to prevent the escape of the two Suffragists.

HATCHET CHARGE POSTPONED

Last Tuesday at the Dublin City Commission, Mr. Justice Kenny in his address to the Grand Jury said that there was another charge against Mrs. Leigh which had stood over since the August Commission. It was a case in which she was charged with having committed an assault on Mr. John Redmond by throwing a hatchet at him on the night of Mr. Asquith's visit to the city. The hatchet struck Mr. Redmond, and the Grand Jury at the last Commission found a true bill for wounding. The case was now in the calendar for the present Commission, and the Crown, notwithstanding the conviction and sentence in the other case, had determined to have the second charge fully investigated by a jury. He took leave to say that they would have been wanting in their duty to the community had they taken any other course.

When the Grand Jury had retired, Mr. Seymour Bushe, K.C., on behalf of the Crown, applied to have the trial of Mrs. Leigh postponed until the December Commission. It seemed obvious that, having special regard to the reasons for her liberation, it might be undesirable to impose on her the strain of a fresh trial now.

Mr. Gerald Byrne, solicitor, who appeared for Mrs. Leigh, raised no objection to the postponement. He was directed to say that she was in a very weak state, and that it would be dangerous for her to leave the house.

Mr. Justice Kenny said that in the circumstances he would adjourn the case until the next Commission.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

The Liberal Christian League, at a meeting at King's Weigh House Church, on Monday evening last, condemned the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners as "an unjustifiable violation of the rights of individuals, dangerous to human life, and disgusting in its nature." One of the speakers was Dr. Agnes Savill, who described the process as nothing less than torture, and bound to fail in its purpose in the case of a determined person. The subject of the meeting was "Aspects of the Women's Movement." Among the speakers were Mr. H. D. Harben, Lady Bunting, and Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., whose speech we allude to in another column.

SALE OF TAX RESISTERS' GOODS

The following resolution was carried, with two dissentients, at an outdoor meeting of protest last week against the sale of Mrs. Fyffe's goods:—

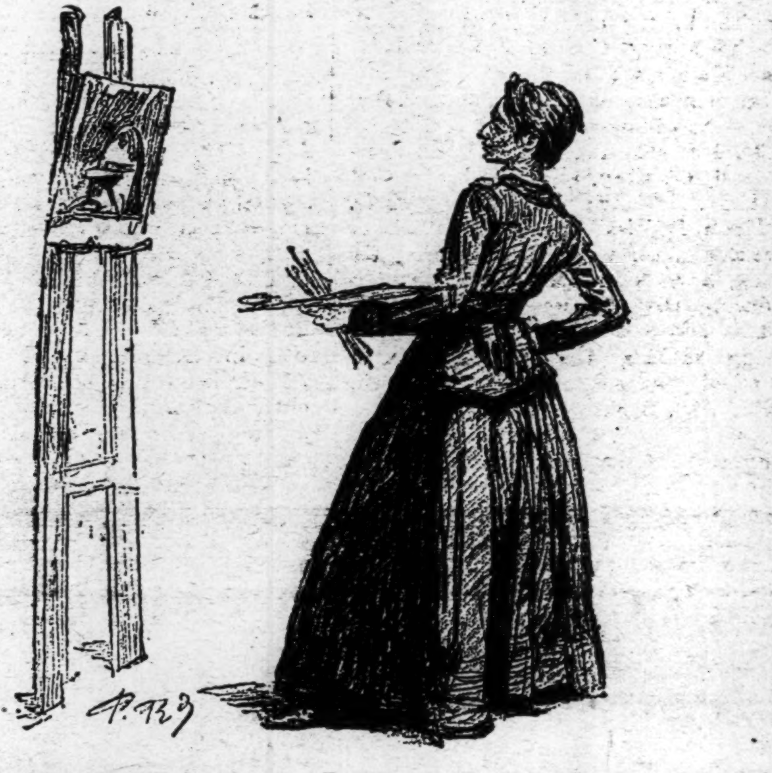
"That this meeting protests against the seizure and sale of Mrs. Fyffe's goods, and is of opinion that the taxpaying women of this country are justified in refusing to pay all Imperial taxes until they are allowed a voice in deciding how these large sums of money shall be spent."

The sale was preceded by a procession headed by the "John Hampden" banner, from Mrs. Fyffe's house to the sale room, and speeches, by Mrs. Louis Fagan, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Constance Andrews, and the Rev. Charles Baumgarten, rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, were made from a victoria decorated in the colours of the Women's Tax Resistance League.

WOMEN'S PART IN THE WAR

In the Fighting Line

It is known that the women are strong, and therefore none of the fictions of compassion are employed; from house to house the news passes, naked, crude, unattenuated. A few nights ago a soldier arrived at a house close to my lodging to inform a woman that her husband, fighting at Plavnitza, had been struck in the head by a fragment of a shell and was in a very bad state. The poor woman, who saw that the destiny she feared had been fulfilled, did not break the peace of the night by cries and lamentations. Quickly and silently she collected some handkerchiefs and a bottle of water, and thinking that her husband would certainly be suffering from the cold she loaded herself with a couple of blankets and went off towards Plavnitza. In the morning, when she was not found in her house, the neighbours, without being told, knew what had happened, and they saw her in the procession of the wounded. She was walking beside a horse holding one hand on the leg of her husband, who, deprived of all strength, looked as if he might fall at any moment. He was completely wrapped in bandages, and all that could be seen of his face was the white lips of his half-opened mouth. He also, like the rest, reached the hospital, which is the sad meeting place for soldiers and relatives after the battle. They bade farewell at the barrack yard and met again at the hospital bed.—**Daily Telegraph.**



MISS M. E. DURHAM, War Correspondent, as a Royal Academy Art Student.
From a drawing by Paul Renouard in the "Graphic" of May 4, 1889.

Now we are all on the strain. There are the wounded to transport and attend to. There is the army to be fed. As in old days, the women still, so long as their men are near the frontier, tramp in parties over the plain, regardless of risk of bullets, to carry their men a bottle of rakia and a few tasty additions to camp fare. Yesterday the Turks fired twice on two women, but fortunately missed; and intrepidly they continued their journey, and duly delivered the lunch. Women as well as men are all for the war of freedom. When the army starts for war, not a woman sheds tears. All are ready to make bread, lead pack horses, and carry water.—**Miss Mary Edith Durham in the "Daily Chronicle."**

The girls' school in Cettinje is empty, and all day long the whirr of sewing machines tells of women stitching bandages, preparing sheets and blankets and arm-slings to be ready for the hundreds more that are to come. The little huts on the mountain sides will be desolate, and only the women and old men will be left as they are in Cettinje to-day. And in some places not even the women, for though the War Department here has improved the commissariat, the women still follow the old custom of accompanying their men to the war, carrying provisions on their backs in baskets.

Sometimes they get under fire themselves. Such a one was Stania Milashovitch, whose life is ebbing in the white hospital here. She was struck down at the battle near Tarabosh: a woman among the row of wounded men. The thought of that fills one with profound pity and stirs the heart to sorrow. For it is the business of men to give their lives for their country; and the sight of this woman among them filled one with indescribable emotion.—**Daily Express.**

The fighting around Gusinje was of a particularly fierce character, and in the end the place was taken at the bayonet's point. . . . Women and young boys were among the victims of the fighting. Many Albanian women fell with rifles in their hands, and boys who carried ammunition and water to the combatants met their death in so doing.—**Central News Telegram.**

Nor do the women lack courage. At Podgoritza a dozen or so wounded were lying outside the hospital waiting admission and attention. To them came a woman—soon to become a mother.

She peered anxiously into the face of each wounded man, and at last reached the end one with a sigh of relief. "Whom do you want?" she was asked.

"I am looking for my husband, but, thank God, he is not here."

Questioned further, she said that she had four children at home, "not one old enough to give the others a glass of water." Her husband had gone to the front, her little shop was closed, and her two oxen taken. No news had come of her husband, and she had left her little ones to look for him as the wounded were brought in.

"Shall we try to obtain news of him?" she was asked. "Perhaps after all he is on some special duty, and not in any danger."

The woman's eyes flashed. "I hope no man of mine is minding oxen," she said. "He will come back to me when the Turks are beaten, or he will be dead."—**The Daily Herald.**

MILITANT CHURCHWOMEN

The unsatisfactory attitude of the bishops and clergy towards the women's movement has roused Suffragist Churchwomen to protest, and all interested are asked to write to the Hon. Sec., Suffragist Churchwomen's Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W., for particulars.

THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"
SCHWEITZER'S Cocoatina
THE OLDEST and STILL The "IDEAL COCOA"

WOLSEY
HEALTH INSURANCE
UNDERWEAR

Insure Your Health!

"To keep healthy in the winter," said Dr. A. T. Schofield at the Institute of Hygiene the other day, "*wear woollen garments next your skin.*" But to make sure of getting the *right* woollen garments ask for "Wolsey."

Every Wolsey garment is made under clean and healthy conditions by the largest and oldest experienced makers of Underwear in the Kingdom, from carefully selected and specially protective wool. Against all kinds of cold weather dangers, the pure wool of Wolsey is the finest health insurance in the world.

PURE WOOL WOLSEY UNSHRINKABLE UNDERWEAR

Every garment is guaranteed unshrinkable, and any proving otherwise replaced free. Made for Men, Women, and Children, and sold everywhere. Every genuine garment bears the well known Wolsey trade mark. THE WOLSEY UNDERWEAR COMPANY, LEICESTER.

AN AUSTRALIAN PETITION

We are informed that the Women's Political Association of Victoria, of which Miss Vida Goldstein is president, have forwarded to Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M.P., a former resident of Melbourne, the following petition from representative Australian women to be presented to the House of Commons:—

"We, representatives of the enfranchised women of Australia, intercede on behalf of our unenfranchised sisters in the United Kingdom with the plea that honourable members shall direct the Government to introduce and pass into law a measure to enfranchise the women of your country on equal terms with men.

"In the Australian Commonwealth, and in the six different States, the opponents of women suffrage voiced the same objections, the same fears, the same prophecies of failure and disaster of a very serious nature, not only to Australia but to the whole British Empire, if our women were allowed to become part of the body politic, as are voiced in England to-day. Experience has falsified them all, and at every election our women cast their votes with an intelligence and discrimination not surpassed by the men electors. Experience teaches us also that the social and economic subjection of women by legislation in whose enactment women have no voice intensifies the social and economic subjection of men, and is against the highest interests of the State. In the name of democracy, which knows neither class nor sex, we plead for the enfranchisement of our sisters.

"Further, we make this plea because their unenfranchisement affects Australian women very closely. Australian men who go to live in England retain their political status, and can take part in electing their representatives to the House of Commons. Australian women who go to England lose their status. They are degraded to a lower political level than that of boys, aliens, criminals, and lunatics. Boys may reach their legal majority and vote. Aliens may become naturalised citizens and vote. Criminals may regain their liberty and vote. Lunatics, if sufficiently 'compos mentis' to discriminate between candidates, may vote. We submit, with all due respect, that the British Parliament is guilty of grave injustice in compelling Australian women, free, self-respecting citizens in their own country, to wear the yoke of political serfdom in England.

"To the plea of those of your own country, we women voters of Australia add ours, and pray that the political right, which men value above all others, be granted to the women of Great Britain and Ireland on equal terms with men."

The petition is signed by the president and secretary of the following societies, these being bodies of women voters representing every side of non-party political, philanthropic, social, and industrial life in Australia:—

Victoria.—National Council of Women, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Medical Women's Society, Lady Teachers' Association, Princess Ida Club, The University, Women Public Servants' Association, Women's Co-operative Guild, Methodist Homes for Children, Ladies' Branch Shamrock Club, Australian Church Social Improvement Society, Independent Church Ladies' Reading Club, Wombalano Art Club, Women's Political Association.

South Australia.—Women's Christian Temperance Union, Women's Political Association, School for Mothers, Women's Clothing Factory.

West Australia.—National Council of Women, Women's Service Guild, Labour Women's Social Club, Austrlian Natives' Association, Australian Labour Federation, Young Women's Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Karrakatta Club.

New South Wales.—The Principal Women's College, the University; the President Women's Liberal League, Mudgee.

ALFRED DAY,
Ladies' Tailor
All Garments made in own workrooms.
COAT AND SKIRT
MADE TO MEASURE FROM
£2 : 2 : 0

Serge Coat & Skirt	2 2 0
Tweed Cloth or Linen ...	2 2 0
Flannel, Hopsacks, Suitings, &c. ...	2 12 6
Faced Cloth, Covert Coating	3 3 0
Full Length Coat	2 2 0

Patterns and Designs Post Free.

A special study made of fitting from pattern Bodices or Self-measurement Form.

CARRIAGE PAID TO ANY PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.
ALFRED DAY,
51 and 52, Park St., Regent's Park
(Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

AT THE PAVILION

A crowded meeting of the W.S.P.U. was held in the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon, at which Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney were the speakers. In the course of her speech, referring to the question to be asked in the House of Commons that afternoon, regarding her Albert Hall speech, Mrs. Pankhurst said that she was perfectly well aware that in inciting that meeting to rebellion she did commit a breach of the law—(A Voice: "Quite right!")—and that so long as women were outlaws, so long as women suffered from intolerable wrongs, they were justified in open rebellion. The great mistake of women in the past was that they had been too law-abiding. She was waiting quite calmly, and with a considerable amount of enjoyment, for the next movement on the part of "the enemy" with regard to this rebellion of theirs. Whether the enemy attacked them in large numbers or singly they were "armed and prepared" for whatever might happen. They were just as much at war as the people of the Balkans, only they fought in a different way, being women. People said, "But you imperil human life." All she could say was that they had every desire to carry their fight through to success without the loss of any lives, and if there were any lives to be lost they would be their own. Suffragettes had already lost their lives through the movement, and she knew there were many more who would gladly die for the cause. (Cheers.)

"MENTIONED WITH HONOUR"

As the result of a movement started by the Rev. Neil Macphail, parish minister of Kilmuir, Skye, says the *Times*, the neglected memorial in the churchyard of Kilmuir to Flora Macdonald, who was buried there, has been restored. On the memorial has been placed a marble tablet, on which are inscribed Dr. Johnson's words:—"The preserver of Prince Charles Edward Stuart will be mentioned in history, and, if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour."

OUR POST BOX

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Madam,—I hope I may be allowed to express the views of women in British Columbia in regard to methods of agitation in their own country. All are agreed that threats of militancy are entirely out of place here. And from all I have observed, I feel sure that this is the unanimous opinion of the women who have given thought to the subject of Suffrage throughout Canada. No one who notes world events can deny that the courage of British women under oppression has put fresh life into our movement everywhere; and to this great credit is due, in whatever lands recent victories have been obtained. Certainly those of us who have worked at all for suffrage, both in the old country and here, must admit that action-protest has been quite necessary to rouse Englishmen to feel and think what is justice to women. But Canadian men have a stronger sense of fair play towards women than Englishmen have. Canadians would never refuse a fair hearing to any woman putting an orderly question in a meeting or to a deputation of women.

In regard to the province of B.C., let me add: (1) That the women of British Columbia would have obtained the suffrage ten years ago, when it was defeated by only one vote in the Legislature, if they had bestirred themselves in the least to obtain it; (2) that to all appearances they will obtain it before long now if the request for it is made by any considerable number of women; (3) that such a demand is now determined upon by all earnest and intelligent women in B.C., and that they are supported by men in this; (4) that in view of the above facts aggressive action would be most unfair and unwise at the present time in this country.—Yours in the Cause, **Dora F. Kerr.**

Kelowna, British Columbia, Oct. 4.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—May I as a humble and unknown supporter of the cause of Votes for Women in general, and of the policy of the W.S.P.U. in particular, convey to you my extreme and lasting regret at the recent cleavage in the ranks of the leaders and at your severance from the militant society? Since the formation of the W.S.P.U. some six or seven years ago I have always taken a keen and living interest in it; have seen eye to eye with it in almost all its actions; have admired its wonderful political insight and intelligence; and have had a deep reverence for the persons of the four noble leaders whose names are now household words throughout the land. Such an event as that which has recently taken place I never for a moment contemplated, and now that it has actually happened, and the "Suffragette Split" has become current history, I can scarcely realise it. Your places will be impossible to fill. What the actual reasons for the separation of yourselves from Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst are one can only surmise; but I feel convinced that all four acted from the best of motives and according to what they individually deemed best for the common cause, and we can only hope that time will once more unite four such brave and rare spirits in the cause for which they have all fought so well.

In the meanwhile, we outsiders can rejoice to know that you are both going forward in this world-embracing movement; that you are still to provide us with our weekly treat in Votes for Women; and that the loss of the W.S.P.U. (immeasurable as it is) is not the loss of the cause of women's political emancipation, and all the goodness those words stand for. On your side, dear Editors, you may rest assured that you have the constant gratitude and heartfelt thanks, not only of all the members of the W.S.P.U., but of thousands of others, who thank God for your noble, generous, and unselfish lives, lived as they have been to such a large degree for the betterment of the less fortunate of the human race. In assuring you of these, my sentiments, I doubt not that I am but echoing those of thousands throughout the kingdom who have learned through the medium of the W.S.P.U. to admire you from afar and to wish that the reform movements of the present day would produce many other persons of such sterling qualities and of such sincere and self-sacrificing lives.

May you both be granted health, strength, patience, and endurance to keep pressing ever forward, and may you see success crown your efforts, and that right speedily.—Yours, &c., C. J.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

EAST END NOTES

Although the campaign has only been in progress for a week, which is being conducted by the Kensington W.S.P.U. in Bethnal Green, meetings are being held every midday and every evening with sympathetic crowds. The house to house canvassing yields an encouraging response, and it is wonderful to see how an explanation of the White Slave Traffic rouses the anger of the women and makes them see the necessity for Votes for Women. The Salvation Army, the Church Socialists, and other bodies are helping the movement in a friendly, unofficial way.

In Bow and Bromley (Mr. Lansbury's constituency) the sympathy is very warm. As a result of the canvassing, the women are now beginning to go into the shop for fuller explanations. Here, too, dinner-hour and evening meetings are the order of the day, and regular factory door meetings are being organised. A public meeting for women gave encouraging results, and everything is working up to the great demonstration on November 10, when the W.S.P.U. procession will march to Victoria Park, and speeches will be made from ten platforms.

An Impression of a Poplar Crowd

Poplar gives the Suffragettes not only a welcome but a real understanding. It is a deep joy to note the friendliness, the interest, the sympathy, and the intelligent comprehension of the crowds—most of them working men and women of the poorest class—who gather round the moment a meeting is begun. There is no need to "collect" a crowd. From the moment that the handy little portable platform is put up and workers begin tying on the banner, the magnetic influence is felt, groups begin to gather, at first diffidently in a large circle, which draws closer and closer until when the speaker mounts her rostrum there is a general movement, and behold the crowd is ready to her hand. And what a crowd! Absolutely quiet and attentive, never a dissent or an interruption, so absorbed, indeed, that the paper-seller feels herself regarded as an interrupter as she slinks round the circle, murmuring gently, "Votes for Women—all about the movement—one penny"; and not one of the backs responds to her. But they make up for it afterwards. At the close the pennies—so hard-earned—are freely given, and a sale of a dozen or two copies is proof indeed of the interest. But meantime for an hour or more the speaker has held her audience, and she now invites questions. They are few, because the audience sympathises entirely; there is no criticism of militancy, for the men know by their own struggles that justice has to be fought for. "If the unemployed had been as plucky as you have they would have had fairer play," says one man to a murmur of approval. The questions naturally centre on the possibility of a vote for the working woman, and the necessity for including all women under a Reform Bill is well understood. At the close crowds surround the speaker, and the handbills which may not be "distributed" are given to those who ask for them.

THE WOMEN'S MARCH

The women suffragists who have undertaken to march from Edinburgh to London, holding meetings and collecting signatures to a monster petition, left Newcastle for Durham on Tuesday last. Their tramp has included a good thirty miles' walk from Dunbar to Berwick. Over 100 miles of the journey is therefore an accomplished fact, and nothing, states Mrs. de Fonblanque, the organiser, "can exceed the gratifying results its efforts have produced. Cordiality and enthusiasm meet us on every hand, and the generous hospitality we receive everywhere is most encouraging. Large and attentive audiences, which have in most cases been eagerly awaiting our arrival, and the great demand for Suffrage literature, prove conclusively that the public are at least anxious to study the Suffrage question, while hundreds of persons come forward with eagerness to sign the petition praying the Government to give votes to women this session."

The marchers are expected to arrive at Thirsk to-day, Friday, and at Easingwold to-morrow. An interesting account of Miss Cowe, who has done splendid work en route (for the bicycle has enabled her to reach many out-of-the-way farm places and hamlets for signatures and then rejoin the party), appeared in the *Daily Herald*.

"Her long experience of wrecks and storms at St. Abbs, where she has been a tower of strength to storm-stayed mariners, has made her hardy and helpful, and even in the roughest shower of the long evening she never missed a chance of getting a signature. Wearing a sou'-wester, and holding a hurricane lantern and a pen and ink, she made a picturesque figure. One of the marchers, asked if they were not greatly fatigued, said that in marching, just as in spring-cleaning, the first day was the worst."

Names of recruits, donations, and offers of hospitality should be addressed to Mrs. de Fonblanque, c/o Miss Roff, Easebourne, Midhurst, Sussex.

"THE MAN'S SHARE"

BY

F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

(The speech delivered by him from the dock of the Old Bailey, May, 1912, together with a biographical note.)

Price **1d.**

On Sale at Votes for Women Publishing Offices,

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

DOES WET WEATHER MAKE YOU THIRSTY?

Nearly everyone during the abnormally wet "summer" we have experienced will have noticed that on the days when there was most moisture in the air, the feeling of thirst and oppression seemed to be at its greatest; but now that the weather is comparatively dry far less moisture is needed internally. There have been a good many explanations advanced to account for this, but the most feasible seems to be that of a well-known doctor, who explains that when the air is very humid, the moisture in the body is far more rapidly absorbed than under dry conditions. However true this may be, the question of bodily fitness must enter very largely into the matter. When we are in good health, and are supplied with the right proportions of moisture, natural heat, flesh-forming elements, &c., we hardly feel the discomfort of thirst during the course of the day, and are always, as the saying is, "up to the mark." It was to provide everybody with such an opportunity of keeping up to the mark that Mr. Sandow introduced his famous Health and Strength Cocoa, and in the task of perfecting this wonderful food-beverage the question of digestibility was a consideration to which the closest attention was given. The remarkable and costly machinery by which it is ground, and the special patented process of wind-sifting reduce it to a dust so fine that every energy-creating particle is instantly dissolved, and it is therefore easily assimilated by even the weakest digestion. Another great feature of Sandow's Cocoa is the fact that all excess of fat is removed, and the percentage of brain, nerve, and body-building elements is therefore greatly increased. Sandow's Cocoa bulks larger, lasts longer, and is altogether more appetising and more health and stamina-creating than any other beverage. It is sold at grocers, chemists, and stores everywhere in convenient sizes at 3d., 4½d., 7½d., and 1s. 3d.

COMING EVENTS

Among important coming events is a meeting at the Kensington Town Hall on November 8, the object of which is to show the appreciation of Suffragists for the sacrifices made in the cause by Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Charles Gray. The speakers will include Mr. H. D. Harben and Mr. Reginald Pott, besides Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Gray, and it is hoped that Mr. H. W. Nevinson will be in the chair. The Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, which is convening the meeting, appeals for the loan of a motor-car during the first week in November, and men and women able and willing to help in making the meeting known are asked to communicate with the Secretary, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., where, also, tickets (2s., numbered and reserved, 1s. and 6d., reserved) can be obtained. We understand that a poster parade to advertise the meeting will take place on Saturday, November 2, starting from the Kensington W.S.P.U. Shop, 143, Church Street, at 11 a.m.

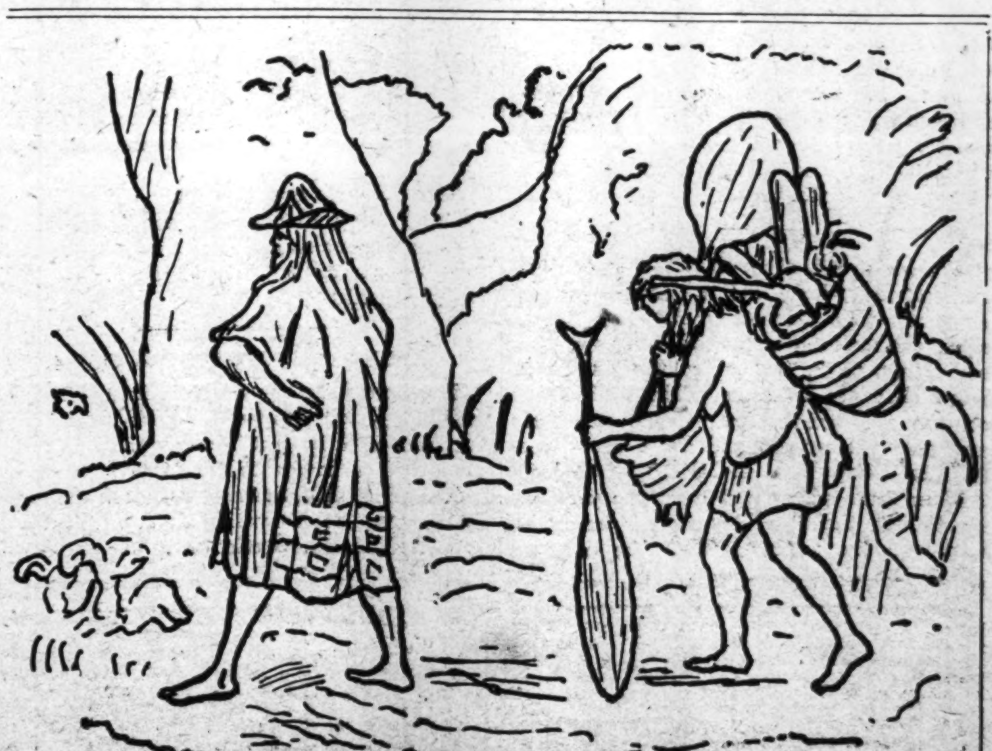
The Sheffield W.S.P.U. has asked Mr. Pethick Lawrence to fulfil his original engagement to speak for them; he will therefore do so next Tuesday evening, October 29, in Montgomery Hall, at 8 p.m.

A matinee is promised by the Actresses' Franchise League on November 29, at the Lyceum Theatre, the play being "The First Actress," by Christopher St. John, with a star cast. It is hoped that the following will take part: Miss Janette Steer, Mrs. Saba Raleigh, Miss Lilian Braithwaite, Miss Henrietta Watson, Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Nora Lancaster, Mr. Ben Webster, Miss Evelyn D'Alroy, and Mr. Tom Heslewood. Miss Evelyn Florence has promised to sing, and Mr. Tom Clare will give a piano sketch. The programme will also include a new duologue entitled "Bertie," in which Miss Lottie Venne will appear, and a prologue by Cicely Hamilton to be spoken by two well-known actresses. Tickets are on sale at the offices of the League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

WOMEN PLUMBERS

Among the representatives of the French Association des Hygienistes et Techniciens Municipaux, now visiting this country, are several women, and the Lord Mayor, when receiving them last Monday, said that the entry of women into such trades as plumbing, glazing, and engineering, was a great addition to the working power of the world. There would have been no novelty about this in England a few centuries ago. Among the Guildhall records the following entry occurs for the year 1595: "The office of Plumber of London Bridge was granted to the widow Foster." Similarly, from the books of St. Martin-in-the-Fields it can be proved that the glazier's work was done for many years by one Elinor Devereux, and the brickwork by Mrs. Baker. Still more interesting is the fact that Elizabeth Bartlett was given the job of casting the second bell, and, according to Mrs. Stopes, that all the women thus employed were paid at the same rate as men for the same work. Yet there are noted anti-Suffragists who would deny women the vote because they are unable to take part in the heavy work of the world!

We are astonished to see that at a meeting of the Hull District Chamber of Trades last month, Councillor Dawson, the *Chairman of the Hull Educational Committee*, referred to the ducking stool, which still remains on the pier, as a way of dealing with Suffragettes. What a quagmire Hull must be in to appoint a man with such prehistoric views as Chairman of its Educational Committee!



Sketch of a Panos Indian and his Wife on a Journey—*(From a Correspondent)*

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word
Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager. VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

MARRIAGES.

ELIZABETH E. BILLING, of Blackpool, and Darwin Leighton, of Kendal, October 22, 1912.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension, 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms from 25s. to 35s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

BRUSSELS.—Paying Guests received in good Anglo-French family, best situation, perfect sanitation, from 30s.; references given and requested.—Hughes, 123, rue St. Bernard.

DEVONSHIRE. — HOMESTEAD, Sea-front, Exmouth. Winter home, 25s. to 30s., everything included; sunny Southerly rooms, extensive view; hot baths, good fires, late dinner.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key, proprietress (W.S.P.U.).

GUERNSEY.—Two Ladies offer Comfortable home to paying guest. House situated near prettiest bays; sheltered; sunny; good cooking.—Address, "Spero," c/o VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

HARROW. — Board-Residence; every home comfort, eight minutes from Metropolitan Station; well recommended; references exchanged; partial board, £1 1s.—Miss Beale, 35, Sheepcote Road.

KENSINGTON.—Private Family, good social position, receive paying guests; large gardens; good table; close Tube, Metro, motor-'bus; special terms members W.S.P.U.—Box 202, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

KENSINGTON GARDENS CHAMBERS (Ladies).—Furnished bedrooms from 10s. 6d.; bed sittingrooms from 14s. 6d. Public dining-room. Tariff very moderate.—Apply, Secretary, 60, Princes' Square, W.

LITTLEHAMPTON. — South Coast. Comfortable winter apartments; drawing-room floor; quiet house; no children; near sea (sheltered), shops, station; three bedrooms available.—58, New Road.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

LONDON.—Board-Residence, 7, Montague Street, Russell Square.—Superior comfortable home; most central for all parts; one minute tube or 'bus; inclusive terms from 5s.; bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d.

LONDON.—9, Montague Street, Russell Square. Superior, comfortable home; most central for all parts; one minute Tube or 'bus; inclusive terms from 5s.; bed and breakfast from 3s. 6d.

LONDON.—Carlton Private Hotel, 14, Craven Street, Strand; Room and Breakfast from 4s. Central for all parts. Tel.—219 Gerrard.

NOTTS, KEYWORTH.—Paying Guests wanted (long or short periods); pleasantly situated bungalow, in extensive private grounds; every convenience; terms 30s.—Cleveland, Keyworth, Notts.

PAYING GUESTS received at Eton House, Dacre Park, Blackheath, S.E.; full board from 27s. 6d., or terms by arrangement. Every home comfort.

PENZANCE.—Board-Residence; warm, sunny house facing south, one minute from sea; bath; sea view; vegetarians catered for; moderate.—Mrs. Day, Southview, Regent Terrace.

PINNER.—Board-Residence; cosy rooms, every comfort; teas, luncheons provided moderate prices; terms from 35s. weekly, inclusive of firing. Tel. 109.—Madame De Roxe, 7, Meadow Road. Member W.S.P.U. Eight minutes from Met. Station, thirty minutes from London.

RESIDENTIAL HOUSE for Business Women; home comfort; bath, piano; good cuisine; easy access to all parts; moderate terms; vacancy.—Mrs. Hawkins, 83, Clapham Road, S.W.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

REST AND CHANGE at Hayling Island. Beds, board, or apartments; near golf links.—Mrs. B. Whittington, St. Helens House.

SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate, Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

29 AND 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.—High-class boarding establishment, terms from 35s. weekly; 6s. per day; heated throughout hot water system.—Proprietress.

TWO LADIES (gardening, poultry farming) receive paying guests, permanent or otherwise; charming sunny house, every convenience; excellent cooking; lovely country; close post, station, church (daily services); terms, 25s.—Misses Leslie Carrington, Verwood, Dorset.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 41, Heath Drive, Gidea Park, Romford.

FURNISHED FLAT, immediately: two bedrooms, sitting-room, kitchen, bathroom; few minutes from Baker Street Tube and 'buses.—Apply personally, Caretaker, Walden House, 34, High Street, Marylebone.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

NORFOLK.—To Let, furnished, till end of April, pretty Cottage; detached; 2 reception, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, scullery; small garden; close to sea; near golf links; rent, 25s. per week.—Wynnson, East Runton, Cromer.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA.—Comfortable apartments, drawing-room and one or two bedrooms, on sea front, good cooking.—Mrs. Poynton, 139, Marina.

SOUTH KENSINGTON. — To Let, furnished, in lady's house (three minutes to Gloucester Road Station), bed sitting room and dressing room, with use of bath and attendance; board and use of telephone as desired.—U. S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Freet Street, E.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL

ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

COACHING in Mathematics and Science by experienced Woman Graduate; successes in Matriculation, Higher Locals, &c.; no failures hitherto.—B.Sc., 154, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park.

DOCTOR'S WIFE has vacancy for Lady patient; rest, nerve, slight mental, or chronic; lovely country, 11 miles from London; comfortable home, large garden; references specialists.—Box 218, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

ELOCUTION.—Advertiser, a well-known Teacher and Reciter, desires a few additional Pupils at her West End studio. Voice Culture, Public Speaking, Physical Culture. Nervous defects in speech and education corrected. Special terms to W.S.P.U. members. Address, Box 182, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Freet Street, E.C.

FRENCH.—Demoiselle distinguée recommandée donnerait leçons de français, études très sérieuses, 2s. l'heure.—S'Adresser, Mademoiselle Villars, 48, Vardens Road, Wandsworth.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LONDON.—High-Class, Comfortable Nursing Home for Accouchement Cases. Terms moderate and inclusive.—Apply to Matron, Box 186, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MED. REG. EXAM.—Preparation desired immediately from W.S.P.U. Lady Coach.—Reply Box 232, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

MRS. MARY OATEN'S Dental Surgery, 10, Sydney Place, South Kensington, S.W. Telephone: Ken. 1084.—Artificial teeth at reasonable prices. Extractions absolutely painless. Gold fillings a specialty.

NURSING HOME.—PATIENTS ARE RECEIVED for REST CURE, in Nursing Home (not Surgical), after Mental and Bodily Strain, at Qui Si Sana, 1, Trevanion Road, West Kensington. Telephone 3676 Western. Terms from four guineas.

POULTRY FARM.—Vacancy for Students; variety of breeds stocked; utility and exhibition.—M. and F. Spong, The Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

THE HARMONIAL CENTRE, 133, Blythe Road, Kensington. Five minutes Hammersmith Broadway. Ten minutes Shepherd's Bush, L.S.W. Lectures and Lessons on the Attainment of Health and Happiness through Practical Metaphysics. Opening service, Nov. 3, 7 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Hylda Ball. Lectures, Mondays and Fridays at 8 p.m.

THE LITTLE SALON SOCIAL LITERARY MEETINGS reassemble shortly. For Membership, write L. Salon, 24, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

TRAINING FOR HOME OR COLONIAL FARMING. Pupils received for dairy, poultry, and general farming; Chiltern Hills, 100 acres; write prospectus.—Kate Lelacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

TWELVE Postal Lessons in English Composition, 12s. 6d. Letter-writing (business, friendly), article-construction, grammar, thought-sequence, punctuation, style; prospectus, stamped envelope.—Prof. Harris-Bickford, St. Day, Scorrier. (Name journal.)

THE HEALTH CENTRE, 122, Victoria Street, S.W.—Perfect health by natural means through vital Electricity. Hours, 10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.; 2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m. (Saturdays excepted). Tuesday and Thursday evenings, 8 to 10. Physical Diagnosis by a Qualified Medical Man, and Diagnosis by Mrs. Mary Davies. Inquiries free. Enclose stamped envelope for written reply. Lectures, Physical Culture, and Concentration Classes are held at "The Health Centre."

BUSINESS, Etc.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

MEMBER desires to recommend Shorthand-Typist for business firm, office, or club.—Sellers, 12, Monmouth Road, Bayswater.

YOUNG LADY desires position as Companion, or would take charge of child; daily, if possible; S.W. preferred.—I. Le Blancq, 21, Southdean Gardens, Wimbledon Park Road, Wimbledon.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

A WOMAN DENTIST (qualified) has vacancy for Pupil; London; could board.—Box 112, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Led Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

GARDENING.

DAFFODILS.—Suffragette offers Mixed Bulbs, 2s. 6d. per 100, 50 for 1s. 6d., post paid. Friends of the Cause please buy.—Mrs. Rowe, Pardlestone Cottage, Holford, Bridgwater.

GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

HELEN COLT, the Specialist in Town and Suburban Gardening.—Regular care of gardens undertaken, also roof and window gardens attractively arranged. Advisory work in town and country.—3, Temple Fortune Lane, Hampstead Garden Suburb. Telephone, Finchley 1262.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

ARTISTIC MILLINERY.—Marie Rochford, 34, Baker Street, W., makes smart and artistic hats and toques at moderate charges; comfort and lightness studied; renovations a speciality.

AUTUMN COSTUMES, absolutely Tailor-made; London styles, lowest prices, 25s., 31s. 6d., 35s., 42s., 52s. 6d. Full-length seasonable Coats from 30s.; beautiful Skirts, 10s. 6d., 12s. 6d. Members delighted, thousands testimonials, newest patterns, fashions. Particulars post free.—F. A. Rawding and Co., Ladies' Tailors, Retford.

LADIES requiring Smart Coats and Skirts, chic Day and Evening Gowns, at moderate prices should visit Madame Casey, 12, Canning Place, De Vere Gardens, Kensington.

MILLINERY.—Hats, Toques, renovated from 5s.; Fur Toques a speciality. Good selection of models at moderate prices.—Miss Angus, Robarts and Geen, 4, Conduit Street, W.

MAISON Rémond, Ladies' Tailors, 11, Pollen Street, Hanover Square, W. Recommends his latest Paris styles in costumes from £3 up. Remodelling of old costumes for moderate charges. Send a card for his Paris models and patterns.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

SUFFRAGETTE, with wide experience in Cutting and Fitting, will attend ladies' residences in Liverpool during November; terms 7s. 6d. day; highest testimonials.—Apply, Box 226, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

LAUNDRY.

A LADY recommends good Laundress. Shirts, nightdresses, 3d.; sheets, tablecloths, 2d. and 3d.; towels, dusters, napkins, 9d. dozen; chemise and drawers, 1½d.; maids, 1s. 3d. each. Linen returned Fridays.—Manageress, 33, Osborne Road, Acton.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W. Tel.: 494 Chiswick.

NEW UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIALS.

"Portman Square, March 14, 1912.
"The Baroness is very pleased with the way you are doing and getting up the linen."

"Kensington, October 14, 1912.
"Your work has given the greatest satisfaction."

"Eaton Terrace, S.W., September 22, 1912.
"Your laundry has always given satisfaction, and we are glad to continue to deal with it."

Originals forwarded if required.

WASHING by experienced Laundress (hand); satisfaction guaranteed.—Emily Gould, Rosemont Laundry, 83, Mill Hill Road, Acton.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Gt. Portland Street, W.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

JEWELLERY.

WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

BEST ROASTING FOWLS and Ducklings, 4s. pair; Boiling Fowls, 3s. 6d.; Fat Geese, 4s. 6d. each; Fat Turkey Poults, 5s. 6d. each; trussed; post paid.—Annie Harris, Poulterer, Rosscarbery, Cork.

EDITH WOOLLAN'S Home-made Cakes and Chocolates.—Orange Cake 1s. 6d., Ginger Sponge 1s. 4d., Christabel Cake 2s. 6d.; Assorted Chocolates ½lb 2s., 1lb 3s. 9d. Post free receipt P.O.—125, Walm Lane, Cricklewood.

FRESH FISH, DIRECT FROM THE STEAMER, sent off immediately after being landed; dressed for cooking, carriage paid; special terms to Schools, Convents, and Institutions. Choice parcels, value 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., 5s., and upwards.—Write for circular to SECRETARY, ENTERPRISE FISHING CO. (DEPT. G), ABERDEEN.

HELP those who help you. Give the Fisherman a chance. Fish, just caught, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; dressed, carriage paid, by return.—Fishermen's Syndicate, 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

HONEY.—English, pure and delicious flavour, 4lb tins, 3s. 6d.; 7lb, 5s. 6d.; carriage paid, cash with order.—Brooks, Ashingdon Apiary, Rochford, Essex.

KENT CLOTTED CREAM, made from milk of pure-bred Jersey herd. Special attention paid to cleanliness in every detail, and inspection of dairy and cowhouse invited at any time. Price 1s. 11d. per pound, or 1s. 1d. per half-pound, post free. Money with order.—CAPTAIN MYERS, JACQUES COURT, ELHAM, CANTERBURY.

POULTRY.—Large Roasting Fowls, 4s. and 4s. 3d. a pair; Fat Young Ducks, 4s. 3d. a pair; large Fatted Geese, 4s. 6d. each; plump Hen Turkeys, 5s. 6d. each; trussed; post paid.—Mrs. Cullinane, Poultry Farm, Rosscarbery, Cork.

POULTRY and GAME BARGAINS.—

3 Partridges and 2 Fat Plover	5s.
1 Wild Duck and 2 Partridges	5s.
1 Pheasant and 2 Plover	5s.
1 Wild Duck and 1 English Fowl	5s.
1 Pheasant and 3 Fat Plover	5s. 6d.
3 Partridges and 1 Fat Wild Duck	5s. 6d.
1 Pheasant and 1 English Chicken	5s. 6d.
2 Grouse and 1 Fat Wild Duck	5s. 6d.

SHAW and SON, POULTRY SPECIALISTS.
80, MARCHMONT STREET, LONDON, W.C.

TOILET REQUISITES.

CULTO CULTO CULTO

For Three Penny Stamps we post you sufficient Japanese "Unrivalled" Finger Nail Polish to last two months. Please give us a trial. You will never regret it. It is hygienic and necessary for anyone who has the least pretension to good taste and cultured hands. USED BY ROYALTY. Only "CULTO" and your two hands necessary. We want every commoner to try it.—BELVOIR AND CO., 1, NEW SOUTHGATE, N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ANTIQUES.—A Member of the W.S.P.U. wishes to furnish her house with old things, and would be glad to purchase old furniture, china, silver, and other household requisites from sympathisers of the movement.—Write X.Y.Z., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

ANY amount of Children's, Ladies' and Gentlemen's Boots, Underlinen, Smart Costumes, Frocks, Blouses, and Trousers bought. Utmost value remitted.—Suffragette. Dress Agency, 163, Battersea Rise.

ATHEENIC UNDERWEAR, Soft and Fleecy, yet guaranteed Unshrinkable. We offer far greater choice of quality and size than shops. Write for patterns direct to Dept. S., Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

BLUTHNER PIANO, like new, great bargain, and Playle piano; antique banjo, cheap; two good pier glasses; room wanted.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

CORSETS.—New form, low top, long over hips, from 12s. 6d.; personal attention.—Madame Emilie, 16 and 17, Burlington Arcade, W.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.).

GENUINE SCOTCH WINCEY, superior to flannel; safer than flannelette. We stock hundreds of designs, also plain cream, from 6¾d. per yard. Pattern post free.—Prior's Drapery Stores, Dept 10, North Finchley, London, N.

GREAT FREE OFFER!!—200 Patterns of charming Winter Blouse material; warm, light, guaranteed unshrinkable wool; many new attractive designs, new season's shades; absolutely free.—Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

LADY, qualified Cook, Member W.S.P.U., wants orders for home-made cakes; prices forwarded on application.—V. Bullock, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

LETTERING and ILLUMINATION in gold and colours; individual designs for favourite quotations undertaken, forming unique Christmas presents; also EMBROIDERY, children's bonnets, pinafores, boots, &c.—Box 222, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MRS. PARK, Wardrobe Dealer, 17, Adelphi, Preston. — Ladies', Gent.'s, and Children's cast-off clothing purchased, prompt cash for parcels. Ladies called on within 30 miles.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made; if unaccepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woodfall and Company, Southport.

PEACH'S CURTAINS.—Autumn Window Drapery. Loom Prices. Ask for Catalogue No. 271. Over 600 Illustrations. Free. Serges, Tapestries, Cretonnes, Casement Cloths, Muslins, Roller Blinds. Samples Free. Laces, Hosiery, Linens.—Saml. Peach and Sons, The Looms, Nottingham.

PEARLS.—Wanted to purchase immediately, a string of pearls, or pearl necklace and ornaments.—"D.," VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

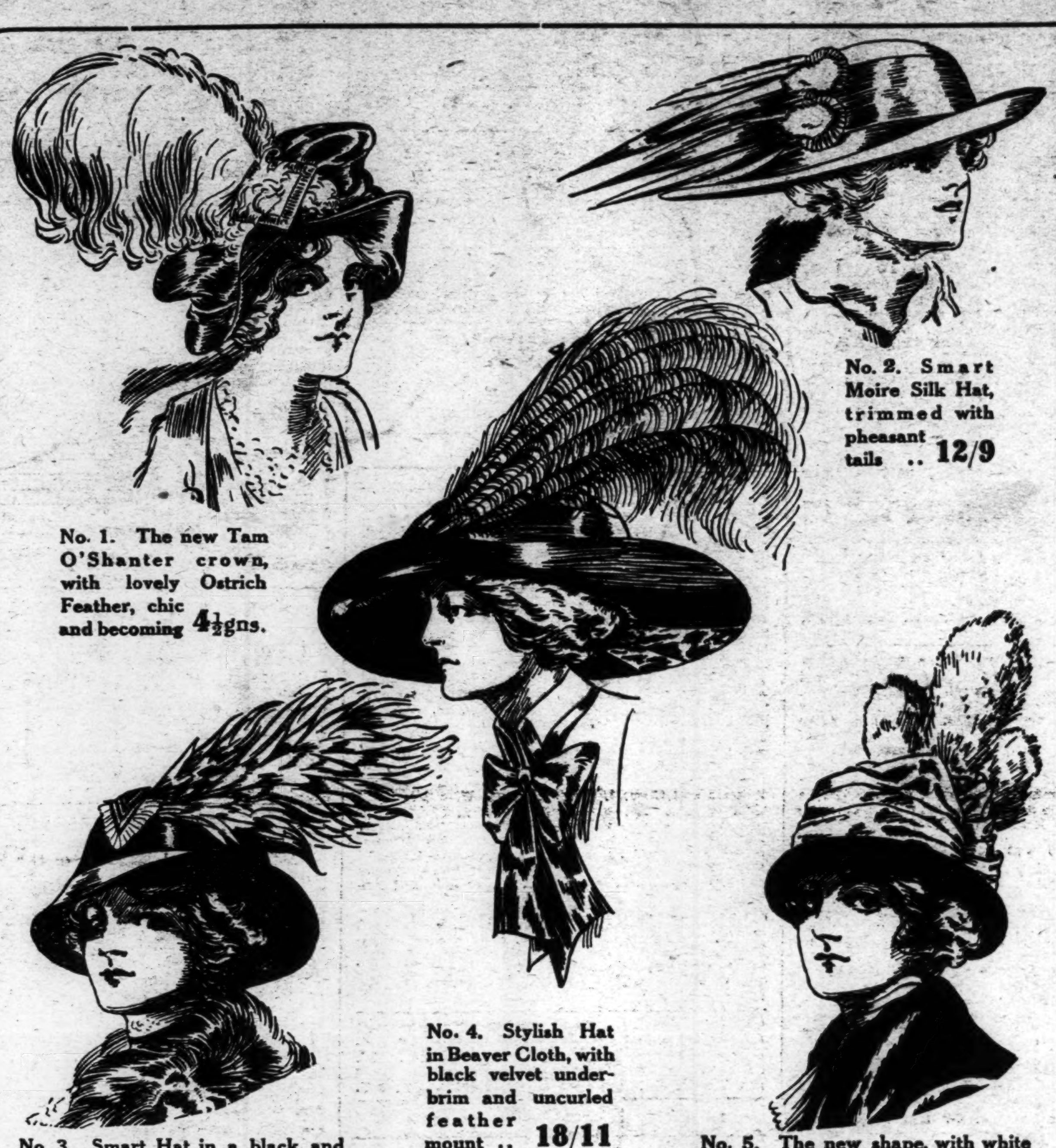
SILVER. — A Collector (member W.S.P.U.) wishes to purchase pieces of old silver. Write "Confidential," VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

THE WOMEN'S TEA CO., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C. (Gibbons Sisters), are prepared to send to all Bazaars or Meetings, tea, coffee, cocoa, chocolates.

TYPEWRITING and TRANSLATIONS.—Literary and Dramatic work a speciality. Best work. Special terms to members W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Marks, The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 63, Finsbury Pavement, E.C. Tel.: 5638 London Wall.

TYPEWRITERS.—Remingtons, Nos. 7 and 8, late models, in new and perfect condition, £5 each.—Miss D., 58, Tulsemere Road, W. Norwood, S.E.

"WOMAN'S INHERITANCE," by Mrs. C. Le Bosquet. A remarkable and daring contribution on the psychology of the woman question. Post Free 1s. 3d. "Woman in the Ministry," by Hatty Baker. A book to make men reflect and women aspire. Post free 7d. An interesting catalogue of advanced literature sent with all orders.—S. Potter, Reform Bookseller, 46, North Fork, Letchworth, Herts.



No. 1. The new Tam O'Shanter crown, with lovely Ostrich Feather, chic and becoming 4½gns.

No. 2. Smart Moire Silk Hat, trimmed with pheasant tails .. 12/9

No. 4. Stylish Hat in Beaver Cloth, with black velvet underbrim and uncurled feather mount .. 18/11

No. 3. Smart Hat in a black and white effect, or in any of the leading shades.. .. 12/9

No. 5. The new shape, with white beaver cloth crown and black velvet underbrim .. 12/9

DERRY & TOMS
KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

Superb array of Exquisite Autumn Millinery

For the convenience of visitors our extensive Window Exhibition of delightful Autumn Hats and Toques has now been transferred to the spacious Millinery Salon on ground floor. This display has no parallel and is well worthy of a visit. We illustrate 5 typical examples of the value to be obtained.

Send your orders at once for

VOL. V. VOTES FOR WOMEN

which will be ready in a few days.

Handsomely bound in the Colours, price 10/6
Post free in the United Kingdom, 11/6

Orders, in every case accompanied by remittance, should be sent to the Publisher, "Votes for Women" Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The Publisher can also supply bound copies of Vols. II. and III. at 10s. 6d. each.
Post free 11s. 6d. in the United Kingdom.

ROBERTA MILLS and her Hand-Wrought Leather.

Special designs in Belts, Blotters, Cushions, Letter Cases, Book Covers, "Emmeline" Bags (a large and a small bag in one). "Christabel" Shopping Bags. Satchels as made for Miss Ellen Terry, etc., etc.

Clients' ideas carefully carried out.

Apply—7, STANSFIELD ROAD, BRIXTON, S.W.

ALFRED C. BROOKS,
BUILDER, DECORATOR, SANITARY ENGINEER, AND HOUSE AGENT,
23, Exmouth Street, Commercial Road, E.
and
351, Hither Green Lane, Lewisham, S.E.
Telephone—East 3209.

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE.
Prices MAY Advance Immediately

Silkstone	27/-	Roaster Nuts	23/6
Best Household ..	25/6	Large Kitchen ..	22/6
Special House.. ..	25/-	Stove Coal	21/6
Best Nuts	24/6	Anthracite Nuts ..	40/-

Coke, per Chaldron, 15/-.
Subject to Market Fluctuations.
Order your Supplies early from
William CLARKE & SON
341, GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS, W.C.
95, QUEEN'S ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.
Telephones: 3656, 1592 and 2718 North, 565 Paddington, &c.
Deliveries most parts of London (Country by arrangement).

RESTORE THE VOICE WITH
EVANS' PASTILLES
Invaluable for Throat & Voice
Send penny for Sample to the Sole Manufacturers:—
Evans Sons, Lescher & Webb, Ltd.
LIVERPOOL and LONDON
(Name this paper.)

THE BEST PAID PROFESSION

There is one profession in which it is possible for a woman to earn a salary higher than that paid to the average man.

Three to ten guineas weekly can be earned by ladies trained in Swedish massage, which any person of average intelligence can acquire in from one to three months at the low cost of six guineas. For particulars call or write to Miss Nightingale, Harley Institute, 66, Paddington Street, W.

Well-paid cases are found for those who qualify.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY.
Good Work and Good Wages.
THE
BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY,
19., BEETHOVEN ST., KILBURN.
HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.
SEND A POST CARD FOR PRICE LIST.
NO HOSPITALS OR HOTEL CONTRACTS TAKEN.

Established 1820. E. DAY & CO., Tel. No. 2840 P.O. Hampstead.
FRENCH CLEANING & DYEING WORKS.
NETTOYAGE A SEC.
5, Brecknock Road, and 275, High Street, Camden Town, N.W.
Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable Shades.
Receiving Houses: 10, Russell Gardens, Kensington, W, 66, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY 69, Upper St. London, N.
MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon.
MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Assist. Dental Surgeon.
Established 35 years.

Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. FEE, 7s. 6d.

A record of 30,000 successful cases. Nurse in attendance. Mechanical work in all its branches.

THE BEST ARTIFICIAL TEETH from 5s.

Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Tel. No. 6348 Central. No Show-case at door.

Telephone: MAYFAIR 4430.
THE MAYFAIR WINDOW CLEANING CO., LTD.
Staff in Uniform.
Company and Customers fully covered by insurance.
25, Market Street, Mayfair, W.

Printed by Walbrook & Co., Ltd., 13, 14 & 15, Whitefriars Street, London, E.C., for the Proprietors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and Published by them at 4 to 7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.